

The LONDONDERRY HEIRS

A STORY OF
THE SETTLEMENT OF

The TOWNSHIPS of TRURO,
ONSLOW,
and LONDONDERRY



— BY —

J. M. MURPHY

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TRURO'S 500TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS

— 1939 —

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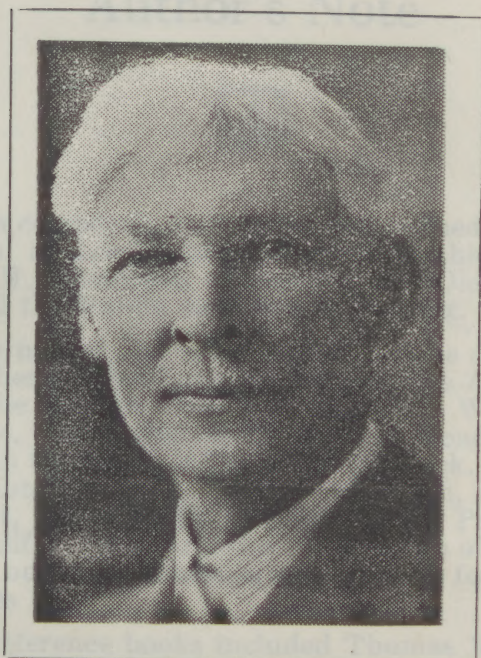
TRURO'S BICENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

—1960—

Dr. L. A. DeWolfe

This publication is dedicated to the memory of the late
Mr. L. A. DeWolfe, of Bide Hill, through whose efforts the
Colchester Historical Society was founded on February 23,
1862.

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Author's Note



This is a compilation of information gained from historical records at Londonderry, New Hampshire, the Manchester (N. H.) Historical Association, the Old State House, Boston, and the Public Archives at Halifax.

A large part of the information in these articles comes from the thesis "Pre-Loyalist Settlements Around Minas Basin" by the late Dr. James S. Martell. We are grateful to his widow, who resides at 28 Oakland Road, Halifax, for permission to use freely of Dr. Martell's work. We are also greatly indebted to Dr. C. Bruce Fergusson, Archivist and his assistant, Miss Phyllis Blakeley, of the Provincial Archives, at Halifax, for their generous measure of courtesy and help during our many visits to the Archives for material for these articles.

Other reference books included Thomas Miller's, "Historical and Genealogical Record of the First Settlers of Colchester County", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Israel Longworth's "History of Colchester County" and "History of Onslow", Margaret Janet Hart's "Janet Fisher Archibald", J. M. Beck's "The Government of Nova Scotia", Rev. Dr. A. W. H. Eaton's "Settling of Colchester County", the collections of the Colchester Historical Society, "A History of Beaver Brook" by the Beaver Brook Women's Institute, Parker's "History of Londonderry (N.H.)", James Bernard Cullen's "Irish in Boston", and others.

Some of the photos shown in this booklet are from the files of the late Lewis Rice and are reproduced through the courtesy of J. E. Sponagle.

Chapter 1

THE SCOTCH - IRISH

The story of the settlement of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry may well be presented in three separate acts or phases—the first phase is between the years 500 and 1600, the second from 1600 to 1720 and the third from 1720 to 1770.

“Bigoted”, when applied to a person in modern day usage, is anything but flattering. But this term, and the term “republican” are applied more than any other words used by government authorities during the first years of the settlement of the three townships to describe the character of the new settlers. But paradoxically enough it was the bigotry of the new settlers, in the true sense of the word—intolerant faith in their own religion—and their republican form of Church government, that helped greatly to cement the foundation of two major freedoms we enjoy today in our system of democracy—freedom of religion and representative government.

(It is interesting to note that 10 of the 33 men who have been Presidents of the United States, the world’s greatest republic and bulwark of our democratic freedoms today, are claimed to be of Ulster ancestry, from whence came the settlers of the Cobequid townships.)

The ferocity with which they espoused and cherished their faith stood them fast through a period of suffering, privation, massacre, and persecution extending over 100 years. Their greatest test came in 1689 at the memorable siege of Londonderry, Ireland.

The priority of their religion over all else is marked today in the official date of Truro’s Natal Day—not the day and month they landed on the shores at the head of Cobequid Bay, but the day and month a call was issued 10 years later to their first resident pastor, the Rev. Daniel Cock—September 13.

Forbears From Ireland

The racial characteristics of the first settlers of the three townships has been generally accepted as Scotch-Irish. We have to go back to the sixth century to get a true picture of the racial background of the first settlers of the three townships. It was in that century that Scots from Ireland (which was then called Scotia) invaded what is now the Western part of Scotland and established a colony in what is now Argyllshire. The coast of Scotland is less than 14 miles from the coast of Northern Ireland.

It was the Scots from Ireland who took with them to Scotland the Gaelic language (they were Celts), and most important of all Christianity. Derry, the original name of Londonderry, owes its origin to the monastery founded about 546 by Columba, who after Christianizing the Irish, crossed over to Scotland. The Scots also introduced the bagpipes to Scotland. These instruments had their origin in the Eastern Mediterranean and were adopted by the Roman soldiers who in turn introduced them to Ireland.

The Kingdom of Scotland originated some 500 years later, by an amalgamation of four tribal kingdoms—Scots, Picts, British, and Angles, two of which, Scots and Picts had been united at an earlier period, and received its name from the tribe of Scots.

Between that time and the ascension of James the First to the throne of England in 1603 the Church of Scotland and Presbyterianism had been firmly established. Prior to becoming King of England James had ruled Scotland as James the Sixth for nearly 40 years, having come to the Scottish throne as an infant, and had begun his quarrel with the Scottish Church when a very young man.

In 1584 he endeavored to install himself as head of the Church of Scotland by persuading Parliament to pass the "Black Acts", which gave him the power to appoint bishops and decide when assemblies should meet. These bishops a few years later had seats in Parliament. James also introduced the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings: the belief that the king can do no wrong, that his duty is to rule, that of his subjects to obey. In effect, he endeavored to set up in Scotland a state-controlled Church along the same lines as was in vogue in England. This the Scots could not tolerate. Although in England, church and state were interlocked, and had a common head in the person of the sovereign; in Scotland, the Established Church was a separate entity.

Embraced Episcopal Faith

James' mother, Mary Queen of Scots, was a Roman Catholic. When he took over the throne of England as heir to Elizabeth, he embraced the Episcopal faith, which that nation demanded in its sovereign. Hence it is obvious that any attempt by James to establish episcopacy in Scotland was a prearranged plan to enhance his political power rather than his piety. For him to be head of the Church of Scotland would more than double his power in that kingdom.

But as the government of the Established Church of Scotland had now become republican, the Moderator of the Assembly during his term of office had, as an elected represent-

ative of the people, tremendous power, which could thwart James' plan.

James had other troubles at home with the Puritans who were still hoping to bring about reforms without breaking away from the church. Matters looked so hopeless that many were leaving the country for The Netherlands. This suggested to James a solution of some of his more pressing difficulties.



Towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the county of Derry in Ireland was seized and received the name of Coleraine, having that town for its capital. In 1609 after James had suppressed a rebellion by the Irish Roman Catholic leader O'Neill with great brutality, the estates of the O'Neills, totaling over two million acres, were confiscated and the inhabitants driven from them. The citizens of London obtained possession of the towns of Derry and Coleraine and adjoining lands, 60 acres out of every 1,000 being assigned for Church lands. The common council of London elected a body of 26 for its management.

With true cunning James conceived the idea of settling the bothersome Puritans and Scots on the confiscated estates and inducements of liberal land grants were offered.

In her book "Janet Fisher Archibald", Margaret Janet Hart says of this colonization:

"Irish people love the land, per se, much as French Canadians do. Those ejected Irish, thirsting for revenge, would be sure to resent the newcomers, who would also doubtless fight among themselves, English and Scots, and there would be wholesome blood-letting all round.

"James promised these subjects of his, deeds to the land and to each his own form of worship. The city of London took up the scheme; fortified Derry and rebuilt its wall, re-naming it Londonderry. Coleraine was also walled and improved. Puritans and Scots poured in, more of the latter, but they soon found that James' word was as little to be depended upon in Ireland as in Scotland. They got leases only, long, to be sure, running from 21 years to 301, but not what they had been promised. From the beginning they paid tithes to support the Established Church of Ireland, which was a modified form of the Church of England. For perhaps 10 years they were allowed each his own church services. Then James showed his hand. The Scottish clergy were deposed and silenced, and all the tribulations of the past overwhelmed them again. Their public worship was made illegal. Wentworth was appointed Lord-Deputy, and a more unfortunate choice could not have been made for the Scots in Ulster. All their hopes were blasted, and they became aware of the storm that was gathering throughout the entire kingdom. Added to their troubles was the terrible animosity existing between them and the ejected Irish."

They shared to a certain extent, the political disqualifications of the Catholics. They hated Catholicism perhaps even more fiercely than the English themselves. They were between the upper and the nether millstone: the Episcopalians above, the Catholics beneath.

But a ray of hope showed through the gloom. In 1620, a shipload of Puritans from The Netherlands crossed to New England, and the Scots in Ireland came to see that this was the only way out.

The area of Western Scotland from which the Scots came to Ireland is the native heath of the MacLellans, Fergusons, Kennedys, Stewarts, McClures, Lindsays, Chisholms, Cummings, Gordons, Grahams, MacMichaels, Jamiesons, Fullertons, MacKinnons, Hamiltons, Wrights, and other clan names so well known in Colchester today.

The first migration of the Scotch-Irish from Londonderry to New England took place as early as 1634 when 140, having built a vessel with their own hands, set sail for the uncultivated wilds of America, with their pastors. But it was nearly 80 years later that their descendants began to stream to America in shiploads.

Chapter 2

THE SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY

In the reign of Charles the First, who followed James, many more Scots fled to Londonderry. Charles exhibited a hatred to all religious groups outside of the Church of England, and no one of the dissenting groups was so particularly his aversion as the Presbyterians of Scotland whom he had persecuted with unrelenting severity.

By such brutal persecution, in a land most dear to them, were the ancestors of many of the men who settled in Colchester County induced to flee to Ireland and join their countrymen who had preceded them.

Presumably, in an attempt to halt this migration to Ireland Charles in 1637 cancelled the charter of the Irish Society, which had been incorporated in 1613 to look after the "plantation" of Londonderry. This action increased the vulnerability of the inhabitants to the attacks of the revengeful Irish.

Charles had troubles at home and these aided the Scots in their stubborn stand against the English king. They raised a force and invaded England, and as a result in 1641 Charles agreed to the abolition of episcopacy, and agreed that the officers of State, the Privy Council, and the judges should be appointed with the sanction of the Scottish Parliament.

Slain Like Vermin

While Charles was pinned down with his troubles in Scotland, the Irish Roman Catholics apparently taking heart from the success of the Scots, made an attempt to gain back their land in Ulster. The massacre that began on October 23, 1641, and was speedily converted into a religious war, carried on with a vindictive fury and a savage ferocity that has seldom been equalled. Men, women, and children were slain like vermin, their houses and cattle destroyed. Although the Irish began the atrocities, the Protestants retaliated in kind, and Ulster was converted into a field of blood. Thousands were slain and a pestilential fever followed, then famine. Many Scots returned to their homeland which had been restored to an independent kingdom.

But for those that remained, repose was short. Although during the time of Cromwell and for a few years after his decease the Protestants were protected from the bitter enmity of the Irish Catholics, they were at length called upon to undergo privations and sufferings almost unparalleled.

Cromwell restored the Irish Society to its former position and Charles the Second granted it a new charter. There is still a close connection between the cities of London and Londonderry, and an annual visit to Londonderry is still paid by members of the Royal Irish Society.

Truro, Nova Scotia, was presumably named after Truro in Cornwall, England, but, as will be explained later, there is no obvious connection between Truro, England, and the people who settled in Truro, Nova Scotia. However, it is significant that the remnants of Charles the First's forces were defeated by Cromwell's troops at the battle of Naseby which took place near Truro, England.

Presbytery was legally established in Scotland by acts of Parliament to which Charles the First had given royal assent, and Charles the Second began his reign in 1660 by promising to "protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland as it is settled by law." But a Scottish Parliament passed in March 1661 a General Act Recissory which annulled all legislation since 1633, and episcopacy automatically became the government of the Church "as settled by law". Scottish bishops were once again appointed and not elected by the people.

An Act of 1648 was repealed which meant that everyone admitted to office of any kind had to renounce the covenants and penalties were prescribed for preaching (or praying in public) against the episcopal government of the church. In 1662, the memorable St. Bartholomew's Day, 2,000 pious and devoted ministers were ejected from their parishes, separated from their beloved flocks, silenced from preaching, and thus deprived of all means of support for themselves and families, merely for non-compliance with the Act of Conformity. Ejected ministers were forbidden to reside within 20 miles of their former parishes, and masters, even landlords, were held responsible for the attendance of their servants and tenants at the parish churches. Fines were imposed for non-attendance, and lists of absentees were required from the incumbents, and soldiers were quartered in non-conformist districts to collect the fines.

The result was that conscientious Presbyterians began to worship in secret conventicles. Communion "tokens" were issued to the faithful as their pass-key to the meetings. It is interesting to note that the Rev. Daniel Cock, the first resident minister at Truro, continued the practise of issuing communion tokens, a hundred years later. These tokens were square metal coins about three-quarters of an inch to the side and contained the inscription: "Truro, Nova Scotia, 1772, Mr. D. C." In order to receive communion a token had to be

presented by the communicant. "Mr." was the abbreviation for minister.

Series Of Rebellions

This harsh treatment prompted a series of rebellions during the next 10 years which were crushed by the Government with additional reprisals as penalties each time. For at least seven years, known as "the Killing Time" Presbyterians were subject to the penal laws in force for some time against Roman Catholics. These laws did not suppose any such person to exist as a Roman Catholic. Presbyterians as well as Catholics could be attacked and murdered on sight and no questions asked. During this period the torture of the thumbscrew was called in to supplement the use of another instrument of torture, the boot.

As a reprisal for a rebellion soon after he came to the throne the Government of James the Second passed a ferocious act which appointed a death penalty for mere attendance at a conventicle. The Parliament which had passed the act could not, however, in its second session, in 1686, be persuaded to accept a measure for toleration of Roman Catholics, upon which the King had set his heart. James, therefore, decided to employ the royal prerogative for this purpose and in 1687 he issued a Declaration of Indulgence which brought the "Killing Time" to an end.

(Most of these reprisals had been applied to Presbyterians in Scotland but it is presumed that those who had fled to Ulster also received their share of mistreatment.)

Fear of Catholicism diminished the gratitude felt for this boon, and in 1687-88 the measures adopted by James to place Roman Catholics at the head of affairs raised widespread alarm.

A convention summoned by William, Prince of Orange, in April 1689, declared that James had forfeited the Crown. The Crown was offered and accepted by William and Mary on the promise of abolition of episcopacy, and the convention was converted into a Parliament in June that year.

Meanwhile James had fled to France and with the assistance of forces of the French king and those of the Irish Catholics launched an attack on Ulster. He had planned to cross over to Scotland after taking over control of Northern Ireland, but the bold and unexpected defense of Londonderry thwarted James' plan. Enniskillen and Londonderry were the chief strongholds of the Protestants. James laid siege to Londonderry in April, 1689, but under the most appalling conditions they held out until the end of July. On June 30 De Rosen, the French commander, notified the besieged that



ON THE WALLS OF LONDONDERRY—stands the monument to the Rev. George Walker, joint Governor during the siege of 1689. The walls are well preserved and are as wide as a road.

unless they surrendered that night, he would drive the Protestant civilians from the country round about up to the walls of the city, and there put these people to death before their eyes. Old men, women, and children—4,000 of them—were herded under the walls, defiantly urging the besieged garrison not to surrender. But many were spared, however, by the arrival of James and the Irish army, who allowed them to depart. But many had already died, or died on the way back, or perished of hunger on their arrival home to find their houses had been robbed and burned. As if by a miracle, on Sunday, July 28, two ships, the Phoenix and the Mountjoy, ran the blockade and broke through with food for them. Of the 7,500 members of the garrison who began the siege only 5,300 were left. Heroes of this siege included William Crookshanks, Alexander Irwin, James Stewart, Robert Morrison, Alexander Coningham, Samuel Hunt, and Samuel Harvey. There may be people in Colchester today who can trace their ancestry back to these brave defenders.

Exempt From Taxation

So highly did Parliament esteem this victory that an Act was passed exempting from taxation all who had borne arms during the siege. This applied to those who later went to America, and a number of people who went to Londonderry, New Hampshire, lived on "Exempt Farms" and paid no taxes.

But though the brave defenders were exempt from taxes, freedom of worship, their main grievance, was denied, even though Presbytery was re-established in 1690, and the general assembly met for the first time that year since 1653. The system of land tenure remained the same. The first of the long leases were falling due and might not be renewed, but they were not allowed ownership, which they had been promised and desired.

George the First came to the throne in 1714, and during the early part of his reign iniquitous Acts were passed by the English Parliament forbidding the export from Ireland of any article that could be produced in England. The excessive rainfall and cold uncertain weather of Northern Ireland make the country unsuitable for agriculture, hence the people depended upon trade in beef and sheep, wool and woollen manufactures, and manufacture of linen for a livelihood. Export of linen only was permitted because England did not grow flax. The early settlers of Colchester were likewise subject to this ban.

Until 1719, when the Relief Act was passed, they were not allowed to hold religious meetings. Over in Scotland it appeared that concessions were to be made to the Jacobites—

the Scottish Episcopalians—which was distasteful to the Presbyterians. Thus, despite their trials, tribulations and sufferings for over 100 years it did not seem likely that justice would ever be done to them in Ireland, either in their religious or economic life. Although when William came to the throne the Protestant cause was firmly established, peace restored to the land in which they dwelt, and toleration of religious sentiments allowed; still, as Presbyterians and Dissenters from the Church of England, they experienced many embarrassments.

They were, indeed, permitted to maintain their own form of worship unmolested; still, they were compelled to aid in the supporting of a minister of the established religion, and a tenth part of their increase was rigorously exacted for this purpose. They also held their lands and tenements by lease from the Crown, and not as proprietors of the soil. With an inextinguishable thirst for liberty they could not be trammelled in their civil and religious rights.

Position Uncomfortable

Their position in Ireland was uncomfortable, also, surrounded as they were with the native Irish, who adhered with tenacity to the Church of Rome; and though the latter were then subjugated to Protestant power and not permitted openly to persecute as they had done, yet a spirit of hostility still existed, and in various ways expressed. Many circumstances, in addition to the original strong traits of character which separate the Scots from the Irish, had served to inflame and strengthen the enmity existing between them.

They were therefore induced to contemplate a settlement in New England by the favorable report of a Mr. Holmes, son of a Presbyterian clergyman, who had visited the country. Forthwith, the Rev. William Boyd, one of four pastors who accompanied their flocks to America, made representation to Col. Samuel Shute (or Suiite) of Massachusetts, expressing a strong desire of a group of 217 inhabitants of North Ireland to remove to "that very excellent and renowned Plantation, upon our obtaining from his Excellency suitable encouragement." The group also empowered Mr. Boyd to make all the necessary arrangements with the civil authority for their reception. Mr. Boyd was well received by Governor Shute and free grants of land were promised to as many as cared to go to America.

Before Mr. Boyd journeyed to New England, organization of the movement was well underway. Two brothers, James and John McKeen, whose father had removed from Antrim and established shipbuilding yards at Londonderry, had begun construction of five vessels, and by the time information

of Governor Shute's acceptance of their plan reached Ireland the vessels were ready.

Forthwith the group sold their holdings and departed for Boston accompanied by four clergymen the Rev. Mr. Holmes, Rev. James McGregor, Rev. Mr. Cornwall, and Rev. Mr. Morehead, arriving there August 4, 1718.

Chapter 3

THE SEARCH FOR A TOWNSITE

Somewhat the same conditions of religious prejudice awaited those who fled Ulster, on their arrival in New England, as they had experienced in Ireland. The Boston area was a stronghold of the Puritans (Congregationalists) who were not happy over the prospect of having the Presbyterians in their community. Governor Shute had promised to give them a grant, 10 miles square, of any unoccupied land that they might choose; such land, they later found out was "frontier" land where settlers were subject to attack, not now by the Catholic Irish, but the savage Indians, for an Indian war was raging.

On arrival at Boston the group split. One group went to Worcester. But the prejudices of the Congregational communities in Worcester were so strong and bitter towards them that they were compelled to leave the place. They in consequence separated and were dispersed through the country, settling other towns in Massachusetts.

Shute suggested that the other group, comprising some 200 to 300, look over available land in the Casco Bay area, in Maine. He desired that frontier lands be settled as defense for Massachusetts against the troublesome Indians. Many settled on the Kennebec, at or near Wiscasset, but the greater number of the immigrants spent the winter at Dracut and Andover, waiting until land for a permanent settlement could be found.

By the time one group of 16 families led by the Rev. James MacGregor, had completed their explorations winter had set in and their vessel became frozen in. As there were no quarters on shore they were obliged to spend a wretched winter on the unheated vessel. Short of provisions they appealed to Boston for relief, and in response the General Court of Boston supplied 100 bushels of Indian corn.

Sailed South To Haverhill

In the Spring the group which had gone to Casco Bay, having found no suitable land in the Portland area, sailed South and went up the Merrimack river to what is now Haverhill, Mass. Some 15 miles inland, North of Haverhill, they found a tract of land which suited them, and they decided to make a settlement there. The day on which they arrived, and on which the settlement was begun, was April 11, 1719, old style. (In 1752 the British Empire adopted the "new style" of reckoning time. Then the calendar was advanced 11 days, and the year set to begin on January 1st instead of March 25th.

Thus the settlement was made on April 22, in our present system of time reckoning.)

They gave the name of Nutfield to the new townsite, because of the abundance of wild nuts—chestnuts, walnuts, and butternuts—found growing in the area.

A ceremonial sod was turned and seed put in. This is called "The First Planting". Rev. Mr. MacGregor delivered, under a spreading oak, at a place called "Horse Hill" the first sermon ever preached in the new community. The colony was a great success. Soon there were 70 families, which presumably included some from the other group which had stayed at Boston and had been warned to depart, and others who came from Ireland. The first settlers made their "home lots" of ground only 30 rods wide, and one mile long, in order to be near enough to neighbors in the event of Indian raids.

They applied to Governor Shute for a grant of this land, a block roughly 10 miles square, comprising approximately 80,000 acres. Areas of later townships of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry in Nova Scotia were of similar size.

Governor Shute declined making an actual grant, as the title of this land was at the time in dispute with the heirs of one Allen, but by the advice of the Council, he gave a protection and extended to them the benefits of government. Later in the year, however, the settlers purchased the territory from John Wheelwright by a deed drawn up at Boston October 20, 1719.

This John Wheelwright was the grandson of a minister of the same name who had bought the land from the Indians in 1629. On June 21, 1722 they got a charter from the King of England confirming their title to the town on condition that once a year they should pay the King a quit rent of one peck of potatoes forever and should reserve for the Royal Navy all the trees in town suitable for masts of ships.

Provisions Of Charter

The provisions of the charter also required "that the proprietors of every share build a dwelling-house within three years, and settle a family therein, and break up three acres of ground, and plant or sow the same within four years, and pay his or their proportion of the town charges, when and so often as occasion shall require the same; that a meeting-house shall be built within four years; and that, upon default of any particular proprietor in complying with the conditions of this charter on his part, such delinquent proprietor shall forfeit his share to the other proprietors, to be disposed of by vote of the major part of the proprietors, and in case of an Indian war within the said four years, the said grantees shall

have four years more, after the said war was ended, for the performance of these conditions."

The provisions further required that "upon the fifth day of March, forever, . . . they shall meet, elect and choose, by the major part of the electors present, all town officers, according to the usage of the other towns within our said provinces, for the year ensuing, with such power, privileges, and authorities as other town officers in our provinces aforesaid do enjoy."

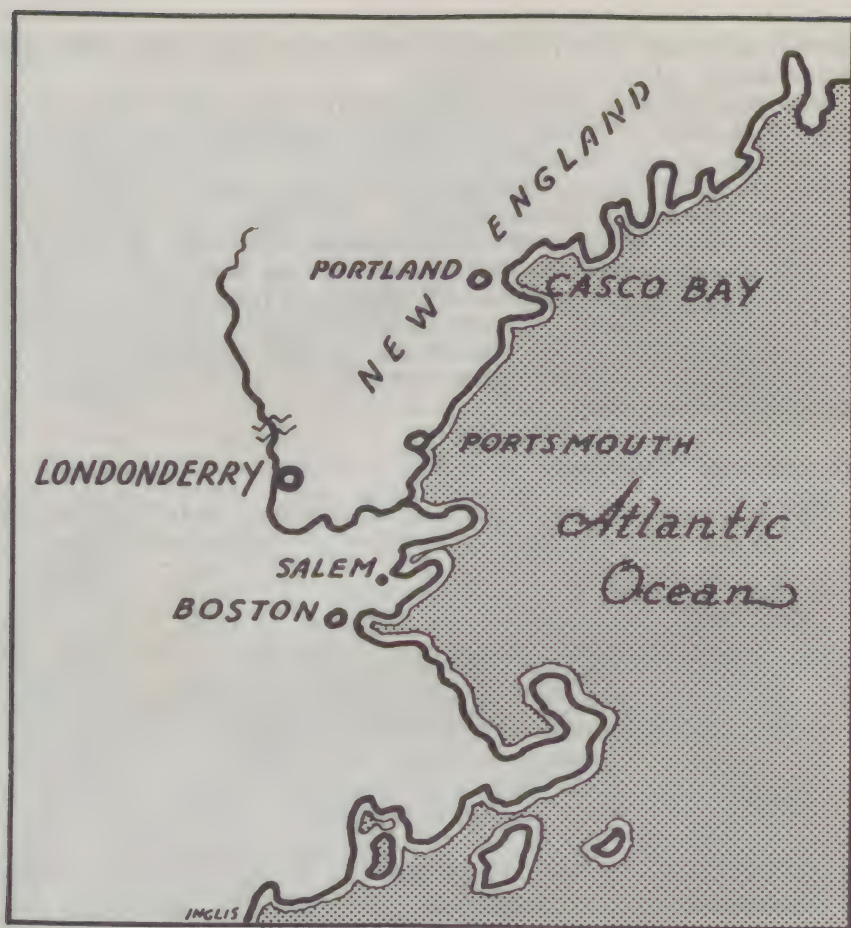
This governing body was referred to as "select men" and modern day Londonderry is still governed by a group of select men. James McKeen was one of the first group of select men and the first Justice of the Peace of the community. The provisions granted the settlers the right to hold a market day on every Wednesday.

Introduced Potatoes

The provision of the quit rent of potatoes is interesting in that the new settlers were credited with introducing the potato to New England. The potato, it is true, is an indigenous American product, and was unknown in Europe before Sir Francis Drake brought it from Virginia in 1573. But it had been domesticated in Ireland and from there first went to New England, where it has since been a staple. The other gifts of Ireland to the Americans (and later to Nova Scotians) were the old-fashioned foot-powered spinning wheel and the hand loom which came in with the Irish spinners and weavers.

The government of that day followed a simple method of keeping records: if the people applying for a charter had come from Cambridge, the name of the township must be Cambridge; if from Newark, then Newark it was. As the settlers of Nutfield had come from Londonderry, their township was given the name of Londonderry in their charter.

The schedule of names of proprietors of Londonderry upon presentation of the charter was: John Moor, Robert Wilson, Samuel Moor, James and John Doak, John Archibald, Henry Green, Abel Merrel, Randel Alexander, Robert Doak, Alexander Walker, John Clark, James Anderson, James Alexander, James Morrison, John Mitchel, Archibald Clendinen, John Barnett, James McKeen and son, Jona Taylor, Alexander Nichols, William Humphra, John Barnet and sons, David Craig and W. Gilmore, John Stewart, Thomas Steell, Samuel Allison, Robert Weir, John Morrison, Allen Anderson, Mr. MacGregore (sic) and sons, James Nesmith, James Clark, William Gregg and sons, David Cargil, Jr., Robert McKeen, Janet, John, and Samuel McKeen, Alexander McMurphy and James Liggit, William Cochran, William Wilson and John Richey, William Thompson, Hugh Montgomery, Robert



Moreson, Alexander McNeal, Robert Boyes, John McMurphy, John McNeal, William Campbell, Capt. David Cargille, John Archibald, Jr., James McNeal, Daniel McDuffie, Samuel Huston, Col. Jno. Wheelwright, Edward Proctor, Benjamin Kidder, John Gray, Joseph Kidder, John Goffe, Samuel Graves, John Crombie, Matthew Clark, James Lindsey, James Lesly, John Anderson, James and John Blair, James Moor, John Sheales, James Rogers, Joseph Simonds, Elias Kays, John Robey, John Senter, John Goffe, Jr., Stephen Perce, Andrew Spaulden, David Bogle, John Peter and Andrew Cochran, Samuel Gregg, Samuel Graves and Robert Boyes, James Aiken, William Aiken, Edward Aiken, John Wallace, Benjamin Willson, Andrew Todd, John Bell, David Moreson, Samuel Morison, Abram Holmes, John Given, Wil-

liam Eayers, Thomas Bogle, Elizabeth Wilson, Samuel Graves, Jr., George Clark, Thomas Clark, Nehemiah Giffen, James McGlaughlin, John Barnett, Jr., John McConoeighy, John McClurg, John Woodburn, Bening Wentworth, Richard Waldren, Lieut. Gov. Wentworth, Robert Armstrong, and Robert Actmuty.

Many Truro people today can trace their ancestry back to these early settlers. James McKeen, for example, brought his brother John's widow and children over with his own family; John having died just before the party left Ireland. The widow's son John came to Truro in 1760, and with his two sons William and John were grantees of the Truro township. From them the McKeens of Nova Scotia are descended.

John Morrison, whose name appears in the list of grantees of the township of Londonderry, Nova Scotia, was a son of John Morrison whose name is in the list above.

Chapter 4

IRISH NOT WELCOME

As mentioned previously, there is evidence that the newcomers to the area from Ireland were not welcomed in Boston. Owing to the difference in their language, habits, and mode of life, from those of their English neighbors, prejudices were early imbibed and unreasonably indulged against these settlers and many things in their manners and practises were grossly misrepresented and falsely reported and believed. Some of the inhabitants of the adjoining towns, not understanding their true origin and character, but supposing that as they came from Ireland they were the native Catholic Irish, were greatly alarmed, and were anxious to have them removed from their immediate vicinity if not expelled from the country.

Although they went to New England from Ireland, where their ancestors had a century before planted themselves, yet they retained unmixed the national Scottish character. Nothing sooner offended them than to be called Irish.

Rev. James MacGregor, in a letter to Governor Shute wrote:

"We are surprised to hear ourselves termed Irish people when we so frequently ventured our all, for the British Crown and liberties, against the Irish Papists, and gave all tests of our loyalty which the government of Ireland required and are always ready to do the same when required."

How the Ulster Scotsman differs from the immigrated Scot is not so easy to explain. Yet in the Scotsman of Ireland some change from the original Scottish character has taken place that has always made him, both at home and on this side of the Atlantic, a little different from his brother on the East side of the Irish Sea.

Winthrop Sargent, in "The History of an Expedition Against Fort DuQuesne in 1755, Under Major General Edward Braddock" says:

"The Scotch-Irish, as they were called . . . were a hardy, brave, hot-headed race; excitable in temper, unrestrainable in passion, invincible in prejudice. Their hand opened as impetuously to a friend as it clenched against an enemy. They loathed the pope as sincerely as they venerated Calvin or Knox."

However, as the account of their settlement and the privileges they enjoyed reached their friends and fellow-sufferers in Ireland, many were induced to follow them to New Eng-

land and join the new community. Although many obtained with difficulty the means of transporting themselves and families —some even binding themselves to a term of labor after their arrival, in order to pay for their passage to America —yet they were soon able, on coming to the town, to obtain a comfortable support. The stream of immigration was either almost entirely diverted from Boston to enrich the surrounding territory, or the authorities found reason not to record so many warnings to them. The fact that the Irish were still coming, and were not very welcome, is seen in the order of the town meeting of Boston in May, 1723, which states that "great numbers of persons have very lately been transported from Ireland into this province" and were driven by the Indian troubles to reside in the town. About the same time Governor Wentworth was in receipt of friendly warnings that the Irish were settling in the Valley of the Merrimack, and that he had better take what precautions seemed best to him under the circumstances for the safety of the community. The people of Boston were actually concerned more than anything else about the purity of the English stock, and at the town meeting finally took heart to impose regulations upon the march of civilization by passing an order that required registration of "Every Person now Resident here that hath within the space of three years last past bin (sic) brought from Ireland, or for the future shall come thence hither . . . shall come and enter his name and occupation with the Town Clerk and if married the number and age of his children and Servants within the space of five dayes . . . and be it further ordered that whoever shall receive and entertain and keep in his family any person or persons transported from Ireland, as foresaid, shall within the space of 48 hours after such receipt and entertainment return the names of all such persons with their circumstances as far as they are able, to the Town Clerk . . ." Fines were provided as penalties for failure to comply with this order.

Immigration Continued

Despite this order immigration of settlers from Ireland continued at a steady pace. During the two years 1736 to '38, ten ships are on record as coming to Boston from Ireland, bringing in a total of nearly 1,000 passengers.

Rev. Dr. A. W. H. Eaton in his "Settlement of Colchester County" estimates that "from 1714 until late in the 18th century . . . a third of the population of Ulster had crossed the Atlantic and settled in New England, Pennsylvania, New York, Virginia and the Carolinas. Of these migrating Ulster Scotsmen by far the greater number landed on the Delaware shore; but most of the passenger ships sailing from Ireland

during the 18th century, as Hanna tells us 'were bound for ports in the Quaker colony. Pennsylvania, thus became the centre of the Presbyterian settlements in the new world, and from that province, after 1735 a continuous stream of emigrants flowed to the South and West. ' "

Attacked By Pirates

Not only did the immigrants suffer severely on the voyages across on over-crowded ill-provisioned ships, but they were subject to attack by pirates which infested the waters off the New England coast. Epidemics of small-pox and other such ailments took many lives. The ships making a business of bringing out passengers at this time were called "coffin ships," and if, in the season, two vessels out of three setting out, reached America, that was considered a good average. Often as many as one-third of the passengers were buried at sea.

It appears that a great many of these immigrants were exploited by some unscrupulous captains, ship owners and agents in those days.

Thomas Miller tells about one ship in which the passengers resorted to cannibalism when supplies of food ran out. A passenger on this ship which came to America from Ireland in 1740 was Samuel Fisher, a young man of 19.

"The vessel was so scantily supplied with provisions," wrote Miller, "that, long before the voyage was completed, one pint of oatmeal for each individual on board, and a proportionate allowance of water, was all that remained. Mr. Fisher went once to the mate with a table-spoon to obtain some water, which was refused him, there being but two-thirds of a bottlefull on board. Mr. Fisher's custom was to take a spoonful of meal and having moistened it with salt water, to eat it raw. The passengers and crew, having subsisted in this manner for 14 days, were at length reduced to the necessity of eating the bodies of those who died. Even this resource failed them; and, at length, Mr. Fisher was selected to give up his life to preserve the lives of the rest. Providentially, however, a vessel hove in sight; and their signals of distress being observed, they obtained relief, and he was saved. So deep an impression did the horrors of that passage make upon the mind of Mr. Fisher, that, in after life, he could never see, without pain, the least morsel of food wasted, or a pail of water thrown on the ground carelessly. On his arrival in this country he was bound by the Captain to a man in Roxbury for the payment of his passage. He came to Londonderry, N.H. about one or two years after, and became a member of the family of Mr. Matthew Taylor, whose daughter Sarah, he married, when he was 25 years of age."

Mr. Fisher's daughter Janet married Matthew Archibald, of Truro, in 1767, and came to Nova Scotia with her husband.

At the time of the granting of the charter to the settlers of Londonderry, the French were still in possession of all the North country, except Acadia, a place of no protective value, which after many reverses had been finally ceded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. It was not until some 30 years later that the life and death struggle between the British and French for possession of America began, but during the period between the signing of the Treaty and 1740 France had been busy colonizing Cape Breton, which she retained by the treaty, and had fortified Louisbourg. The French fishing trade had increased so greatly by 1740 that it had become a menace to the New England fishing industry. However there was a great deal of illicit trading going on between New England and Louisbourg, which was forbidden by navigation laws of both England and France.

When France declared war against England in 1744 a plan by Massachusetts' Governor William Shirley for an attack on Louisbourg was enthusiastically supported by New England merchants who had a lustful eye cast at the lucrative trade that came and went through Louisbourg as well as the fishing industry. Massachusetts and Maine raised an assault force of 3,000 men; New Hampshire 1,000; and Rhode Island 200. The fortress fell to the New Englanders in 1745. But to their dismay and anger, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle England returned Louisbourg to France in a swap for some other base she desired more.

Though Commodore Warren and the British Fleet had had as much to do with the taking of Louisbourg as had the New Englanders; and money spent by the colonies had been largely refunded by the imperial government, these considerations did nothing to allay the resentment of the New Englanders when they saw the French permitted to return to the Atlantic regions from when they had been driven.

To Appease New England

It was partly to appease the New Englanders that Lord Halifax, the new and energetic president of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, turned his attention to Nova Scotia. He prepared an ambitious plan which looked to the establishment there of at least six large settlements, the people to be Protestants from England and Northern Ireland. The first need, however, was a strong military and naval base to counter the fortress at Louisbourg, for it was well understood in England that the peace was only a breathing spell.

Presumably, because of Lord Halifax's plan the policy in regard to immigration into New England was relaxed by the

Massachusetts Council, and immigration of Protestants from Ulster was actively encouraged, agents being sent to Ireland, and the grant of a ship being obtained for the purpose. The Irishmen, although indigent and without stock, were industrious, sober and would evidently be content with small lots of land. They engaged in common labor and worked at cheaper rates than the poorer types of New Englanders, who had refused to labor under four shillings a day, when the Ulster Irish considered themselves well rewarded with two. The relaxed immigration policy applied, of course, only to Protestants, for the Irish penal code was still in operation, and as explained previously, this code did not suppose any such person to exist as the Irish Roman Catholic.

In the Winter of 1749-50 the Province of Massachusetts granted to Joshua Winslow, Thomas Gunter, and Samuel Wentworth the loan of the frigate "Massachusetts" for a voyage to Ireland and back, with the design of importing Irish Protestants. It appears that in some way this enterprise was counted on as an exceedingly profitable one, for one of the citizens said he would have given "a thousand pounds, Old Tenor," for the grant of a ship, and another offered deeds of a 100 acres (probably virgin forest) to any family intending to settle on the land so conveyed.

Thomas Gunter, in a letter to the House of Representatives April 16, 1754, wrote:

"When the grant of the ship was first made the news of it spread among the Irish in a surprising and quick manner . . . My house soon after was daily filled with numbers, and they seemed so elated and joyous that the Government had so taken notice of them, that they would encourage enough people to come, and no doubt, but the ship would be as full as she could stow. "Most of them wanted to send for some relations or other. Others wanted to go as procurers, one saying he could engage to provide 20, others 30 and 40 and so on. Mr. Morehead was also very kind in assisting to write circular letters to all his friends far and near, recommending this ship as the best opportunity that could offer for transporting themselves."

Col. Wendell, who was one of the committee appointed by the General Court to manage the business on the part of the Province, was so exasperated at not being admitted to a share in the enterprise that he threw all possible obstacles in the way of its execution. He finally succeeded in making it so profitless that the grantees, after being at considerable expense in repairing the ship and obtaining freight finally threw up the project in disgust, and the frigate was sold shortly afterwards.

In 1750 the General Court, apparently now aware of unscrupulous practises by some of the agencies handling the immigration, passed laws to prevent overcrowding of ships and gave customs officials authority to make "needful examination" of the ships. As a result of these migrations a number of family names now so familiar to Colchester County appear in the records of the Londonderry, New Hampshire, area between 1750 and '58. They are William Henry Crowell, John Ramsey, the Wed'w (widow) Calderwood, James Ramsey, Robert Wallace, Capt. Andrew Todd, John Wallace, Thomas Wallace, William Betty, John Crome, John Barrett, Matthew Wright, William Edison, John Brown, Samuel Miller, Joseph Bell, William Marten, Patrick Douglas, Robert Craige, James Morrow, Thomas Macleary, Samuel Dickey, Peter Petterson, Hugh Young, Rev. William Davidson, Alexander Kelsey, Alexander McCollom, James Oughterson, Robert Kenady, William Cox, Edward Cox, Charles Cox, William White, John Cox, Robert Livingstone, Thomas Graham, and others whose surnames were Blanchard, Blair, Goff, McFee, Taylor, Rankin, Montgomery, Orr, Marsh, Paul, Hogg, Mills, Durham, Russell, Duncan, Taggart, Bailey, Faren, Vance, Stinson, Walton, Macordy, Robinson, Dunlap, Hopkins, Kelso, Mansfield, McFarland, Taylor, Cunningham, Ewing, Donaldson, Rogers, Dinsmoor, Mack, Holmes, Chapman, Thompson, Brewster, McIntosh, Corning, McLuere, Kerr, Giles, Chase, Page, Smith, Watt, Lyons, Johnson, Porter, Hunter, Adams, Lennan, Robertson, Cumings, Reed, Finlay, Jones, Richardson, Marshall, Conelly, Melcher, Grey, Dodge, Boyd, Fowle, Cristy, Parker, Colby, Johnson, Perrin, Lawrence, Kinkead, and Hill.

Charles Cox, who is mentioned in above list, is presumably the Charles Cox who was a grantee of the township of Truro. So many of the other names are familiar names in Colchester today that some of them or their descendants may have come here later.

Chapter 5

INVITATION TO NOVA SCOTIA

Let us return briefly to Londonderry, New Hampshire and the first years of settlement of that community.

We have seen that Governor Shute granted the new settlers land on the frontier as sort of a first line of defense for his province. Happily the settlers were spared some of the appalling massacres which took place in towns around them. According to Margaret Janet Hart "The people of Nutfield believed that their immunity came from protection afforded them by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada. De Vaudreuil was a friend of the Rev. James MacGregor, who was educated in France, and made his acquaintance there. A correspondence was carried on between them, and it was believed that Vaudreuil had warned the Indians never to molest them, as they were not English, but friends of his. The fact that they had secured a proper Indian grant through Colonel Wheelwright, may also have had some influence."

The new settlers apparently had as much to fear from their white neighbors as the redmen, because of religious and racial prejudices. They were once attacked by an armed party in the hope of dispossessing them by force from their newly-acquired property. At the time of this raid they were attending a church service and it is said that the gallant Londonderry clergyman, threw off his coat and offered to lead the attack should the enemy persist in trying to drive out the congregation. It is also said that the first minister, Mr. MacGregor, always carried his loaded gun into the pulpit. This musket is still preserved.

A description of their home life, customs, clothes, and houses will be given in a later chapter, for they were much the same as those of the first settlers of the Cobequid townships. The early settlers built their first homes of logs, but in two years they had a church edifice built of good timber and well-finished at what is now East Derry, a few miles from Londonderry. As early as 1723 a log schoolhouse was built.

Loyal To The Crown

They were exceptionally loyal to the Crown and many volunteers took part in the campaign against Louisbourg in 1745 and later in the "reduction of Canada" campaign during the period 1755 to 1759. In 1756, for example, when an attempt against Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, was made, the town raised three companies of troops which served under the command of three Londonderry soldiers.

Presumably a number of volunteers were in the force of 2,000 New Englanders which captured Fort Beausejour in 1755, and forces which captured and destroyed Louisbourg in 1758, for Miller explains that settlement of the Cobequid area was promoted by some of the troops who had seen the rich marshlands while "assisting in subduing and driving out the old French settlers, and the taking of Louisbourg." John Morrison, for example, who was one of the grantees of the township of Londonderry, N.S., came to this area after serving at Louisbourg. He had a farm at Peterborough, N.H. before that. His family later joined him here. Morrison was the son of John Morrison who was one of the grantees of Londonderry, N.H.

As we shall see later, Lieut. Joseph Scott and Ensign Daniel Knowlton who served with the Hampshire regiment in the military campaign in Nova Scotia were among advance agents sent to this province to make arrangements for settlement of Onslow.

Large families grew up among the early settlers of Londonderry, N.H. and it was the rule, rather than the exception, to have eight, 10, or 12 children. There appeared to be no difficulty in supporting large families out of the products of the farm.

Londonderry also developed the linen industry in America. The Londonderry weavers had almost a national reputation for the quality of their product.

A few miles North of Londonderry, further up the river, is situated today the industrial city of Manchester. It was first settled in 1722 and incorporated as a town in 1751 called Derryfield. Up until 1935 Manchester was famous as a textile city, employing 15,000 persons who daily produced 360 miles of internationally renowned cloth. Today, in Londonderry, North Ireland, 38 mills turn out some of the finest linen shirts in the world, while Truro, N.S. mill workers have won a national reputation in Canada for the quality of the textiles they produce.

Londonderry, N.H. by the rapid increase of the early settlers and continued accessions of their countrymen from abroad, soon became populous, and sent forth many colonies to form new settlements in the vicinity and remote parts of the country now open for colonization. Quebec having fallen into the hands of the English in 1759, the consequent surrender of all French possessions in Canada, brought again the prospect of a settled tranquility to the Northern colonies, and inexpressibly cheering to those who had so long borne the heat and burden of the day. For many years "the father had not cultivated his fields in safety, nor had the mother committed

the infant to rest, but with the most distressing apprehensions." But now everything was encouraging to the colonists. They were exempt from the fear of a lurking enemy; while their hardships and exposures had rendered them bold and enterprising. In marching to and from the theatres of war, they had become acquainted with the fertile parts of the interior of their country, and the young men pushed onward with ardor to take possession of the wilderness and convert it into a fruitful field.

Colonists of Londonderry went out from that town to settle many other towns in New Hampshire and Massachusetts. An expedition went to Bedford in 1737, Peterborough in 1741, Acworth in 1766, Antrim, Henniker and Deering in 1767, and New Boston in 1774. The town of Windham was carved out of Londonderry in 1741 and Derry in 1827. Other places settled principally by men of Londonderry were Londonderry and Windham, in Vermont; Belfast, Maine; Cherry Valley, N. Y., and Truro, N.S. It is interesting to note here, perhaps, that the first settler of Belfast, Maine, was James Miller, son of Alexander Miller who was the grandfather of Thomas Miller, author of the well-known "Miller Book". There is a street named after him in Belfast. The name James Nesmith appears on the list of grantees of Londonderry, N.H. In 1796 a James Nesmith opened the first store in Belfast.

It is a coincidence that the choice of Belfast as a name for the Maine community was decided by the flip of a coin. The alternative was Londonderry. Legend has it that the choice of the name Londonderry for the Nova Scotia community was decided in the same manner, the alternative being Belfast.

On October 12, 1758, the following notice—a proclamation by Governor Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia—appeared in the Boston Gazette and came to the attention of the inhabitants of Londonderry, New Hampshire, as well as others in the Massachusetts Bay colony:

"Whereas by the late success of His Majesty's arms in the reduction of Cape Breton and its dependences, and also by the demolition and entire destruction of Gaspe, Miramichi, and of Saint Lawrence and on Saint John's river in the Bay of Fundy the Enemy, who have formerly disturbed and harrassed the Province of Nova Scotia and much obstructed its progress, have been compelled to retire and take refuge in Canada; a favourable opportunity now presents itself for the peopling and cultivating as well the lands vacated by the French as every other part of that valuable Province; I have therefore thought fit, with the advise of His Majesty's Council, to issue this



MANCHESTER, NEAR LONDONDERRY N. H.

proclamation, declaring that I shall be ready to receive any proposals that may hereafter be made to me for effectually settling the said vacated, or any other lands within the Province aforesaid; a description whereof, and of the advantages arising from their peculiar nature and situation I have ordered to be published with this proclamation.

“A description of the lands, ordered to be published Pursuant to the foregoing Proclamation, which consist of 100,000 acres of land, interval and plow lands, producing wheat, rye, barley, oats, hemp, flax, etc. These have been cultivated for more than a hundred years past, and never fail of crops or need manuring.

“Also more than 100,000 acres of upland, cleared and stocked with English grass, planted with orchards, gardens, etc. These lands with good husbandry, produce often two loads of hay per acre. The wild and unimproved lands adjoining abound with black birch, ash, oak, pine, fir, etc.

"All these lands are so intermixed that every single farmer may have a proportionable quantity of plow land, grass land and woodland, and are all situated about the Bay of Fundy upon rivers navigable for ships of burthen." The notice explained further:

"Proposals will be received by Mr. Hancock, of Boston, and by Messrs. Delancie & Watts, of New York, to be transmitted to the Governor, or President of the Council at Halifax."

Chapter 6

SECOND INVITATION

The proclamation of Governor Lawrence published in the Boston Gazette October 12, 1758, obviously brought some response for on January 11, 1759, the Boston Gazette carried a second proclamation by Governor Lawrence, which read:

"Whereas since the issuing of the proclamation dated the 12th of October 1758, relative to the settling the vacant lands in this Province, I have been informed through Thomas Hancock, Esq., Agent for the Affairs of Nova Scotia at Boston, that sundry applications have been made to him in consequence thereof by persons who are desirous of settling the said lands, and who are solicitous to know what particular encouragement the Government will give them—whether any allowance of Provisions will be granted at their first settlement, what quantity of land will be allotted to each person, what quit rents they are to pay, what the constitution of the Government is, whether any taxes and of what kind will be levied, whether they will be allowed the free exercise of their religion?

"I have therefore thought fit, with the advice of His Majesty's Council, to issue this proclamation, hereby declaring, in answer to the said enquiries, that by His Majesty's Royal Instructions, I am empowered to make grants in the following proportions:—"That townships are to consist of 100,000 acres of land—or about 12 miles square—that they do include the best and most profitable lands, and also that they do comprehend such rivers as may be at or near such settlements and do extend as far up into the country as conveniently may be, taking in a necessary part of the sea coast.

"That the quantities of land granted will be in proportion to the abilities of the settlers to plant, cultivate and enclose the same.

"That 100 acres of wild woodland will be allowed to every person being master or mistress of a family, for himself or herself, and 50 acres for every white or black man, woman or child of which such person's family shall count at the actual time of making the grant, subject to the payment of a quit rent of one sterling per annum for every 50 acres; such quit rent to commence at the expiration of 10 years from the date of each grant, and to be paid for His Majesty's use to his Receiver General at Halifax, or his deputy, on the spot.

"That the grantees will be obliged by their said grants to plant, cultivate, improve, or enclose one third part of their lands within the space of 10 years, another third part within

the space of 20 years, and the remaining third part within the space of 30 years from the date of their grants.

“That no person can possess more than 100 acres by grant in his or her own name.

“That every grantee, upon giving proof that he or she has fulfilled the terms and conditions of his or her grant shall be entitled to another grant in the proportion and upon the conditions above mentioned.

“That the lands proposed to be settled on the Bay of Fundy as expressed in the former proclamation, will be distributed with such proportion of interval, plow land, mowing land and pasture as there will be sufficient to maintain the respective families that shall be established thereon.

Similar Governmental System

“That the Government of Nova Scotia is constituted like those of the neighboring colonies, the Legislature consisting of a Governor, Council and House of Assembly, and every Township, so soon as it shall consist of 50 families, will be entitled to send two representatives to the General Assembly. The Courts of Justice are also constituted in like manner with those of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Northern Colonies.

“That as to the article of Religion, full liberty of conscience, both by His Majesty’s Royal Instructions and a late Act of the General Assembly of this Province is secured to persons of all persuasions, Papists excepted, as may more fully appear by the following abstract of the said Act, viz:—

“ ‘Protestants dissenting from the Church of England, whether they be Calvinists, Lutherans, Quakers, or under what denomination soever, shall have free liberty of conscience, and may erect and build Meeting Houses for public worship, and may choose and elect Ministers for the carrying on of Divine service and administration of the Sacrament, according to their several opinions, and all contracts made between their Ministers and Congregations for the support of their Ministry are hereby declared valid, and shall have their full force and effect according to the tenor and conditions thereof, and all such Dissenters shall be excused from any rates or taxes to be made or levied for the support of the Established Church of England.’

“That no taxes have hitherto been laid upon His Majesty’s subjects within this Province nor are there any fees of office taken upon issuing the grants of land.

“That I am not authorized to issue any bounty of provisions; and I do hereby declare that I am ready to lay out the lands and make grants immediately under the conditions above described, and to receive and transmit to the Lords

Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in order that the same may be laid before His Majesty for approbation, such further proposals as may be offered by any body of people settling an entire Township under other conditions that they may conceive more advantageous to the undertakers.

"That Forts are established in the neighborhood of the lands proposed to be settled, and are garrisoned by His Majesty's troops, with a view to giving all manner of aid and protection to the settlers if hereafter there should be need."

Governor Lawrence's version of the success attending his proclamations "for encouraging the introduction and establishment of substantial settlers on the evacuated lands of the Province" may not be uninteresting. Thirteen months earlier, on Nov. 9, 1757, he had written to the Lords of Trade to say he "was well convinced 20,000 families might be commodiously settled in those localities" from which the Acadians had been removed.

In writing to the Lords of Trade on Sept. 20, 1759, he stated that in consequence of issuing of his proclamation "an extraordinary spirit for accomplishing this desirable end diffused itself through the neighboring colonies" and that no damp might be thrown upon it by waiting for particular instructions from them regarding the grants, he and his Council had disposed of the fairest portions of the Province in the most unqualified and ample manner. He was apprehensive that delay for such instructions might be attended with consequences that would prove fatal to the progress and prosperity of the Province, in immediate prospect. Persons were then engaging for six or eight townships, and he had no doubt that every acre of cleared land in Nova Scotia, as well as the whole coast from Halifax to Cape Sable, would be peopled sooner than previously had been considered possible. The only measure taken in the management of the business of which he apprehended their Lordships might not perfectly approve, was that of incurring some expense in fixing the first settlers.

Would Tempt Settlers

He was sensible their Lordships would esteem the lands sufficiently valuable in themselves to tempt settlers without any other consideration, and that the expense of transportation and of corn to be purchased, as promised in The Minute of Council, might have been spared. That upon this point the Council deliberated much and spared no pains to satisfy the committee appointed by the people to take up their lands that they could in reason expect no such assistance, but without effect. They were not to be worked upon, and had they refused the bounty, they asked "who were the people who

broke the ice" (as they expressed themselves) he had good reason to apprehend, that as they were the first, they would be the last and only ones seen on that errand. They would have returned disgusted and given such a description of the country as must have discouraged others from ever thinking of it. For these reasons he and his Council ventured on the measure, esteeming it to be the right one, in humble confidence, when fairly represented, it might find favor with their Lordships. As such numbers had followed he flattered himself more than ever that it would, and concluded by saying "the Province now bids fair to be of high importance to the public, to grow rich and populous at once," and he trusted that it would be able ere long to get out of its leading strings and be in a position to repay the Mother Country, with interest, the heavy expenses of nursing it in its infancy."

Lawrence's optimism of a large settlement of people was not exaggerated, but his hopes for early repayment of "the heavy expense" was, for during the first three years of the settlement the Government was called upon to provide additional large sums of money to provide food and provisions for the newcomers.

The years between 1759 and 1765 mark a definite epoch in the pre-Loyalist settlement of Nova Scotia. In this period, thousands of New England farmers and fishermen formed associated companies and departed for the Northern Peninsula, establishing there those townships which are still the population centres of today.

It should be explained here that in 1759 Nova Scotia included all the area of what is now mainland Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the section of Quebec Province bounded on the North by the St. Lawrence River and on the West by a continuation to the St. Lawrence of the line which is now New Brunswick's Western boundary. At that time on the early maps both what is now the Penobscot River in Maine and the St. Croix River marking the present N.B.-Maine border were designated as the St. Croix River and this resulted in a prolonged boundary dispute in later years. In 1759 it didn't make much difference as that area was a vast region of unsettled land.

Little Significance

A proclamation dated October 7, 1763, annexed St. John's and Cape Breton islands to the peninsula of Nova Scotia. In the case of the former, henceforth to be known as Prince Edward Island, the action had little significance, for within six years the authorities in England had harkened to the pleas of its proprietors and constituted it as a distinct province. Cape Breton, however, was quite another matter and

its final disposition awaited the passage of another 60 years. For the time being the government of Nova Scotia merely conferred upon it the status of a normal county.

The next two geographical and jurisdictional changes were effected during the 1780's by further acts of the Crown. One in 1784, separated New Brunswick from Nova Scotia with its own Governor-in-Chief, reduced the status of the chief executive of Prince Edward Island to that of a Lieutenant-Governor subordinate (but, as it turned out, only in theory) to the Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia, and granted Cape Breton its own government under a Lieutenant-Governor subordinate to the same authority. Another, in 1786, conferred upon Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) the governorship-in-chief of all British North American provinces except Newfoundland, and placed Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Cape Breton under lieutenant-governors, who, in the normal absence of the Governor-in-Chief from their environs, exercised the functions conferred by his various commissions.

The creation of New Brunswick, incidentally, was stimulated by the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists at the close of the American Revolution.

It should also be pointed out here, that although Lawrence in his second proclamation referred to a system of representative government being in existence in the Province, it was only 10 days before the date of issuance of the proclamation that the first elective Assembly convened at Halifax —the first in what is now Canada. But the so-termed "elective" Assembly was not far removed in its practical operation from the hitherto 12-member governing Council whose members were appointed by the Crown upon recommendation of the Governor. In effect, the Assembly was a Halifax, and not a Nova Scotia body, for Professor Brebner has shown that its effective majority was normally made up of Halifax men, who, for the most part, were members or hangers-on of the office-holding clique. Hence, for many years after 1758, the Council, in effect, continued to be the legislative authority. This authority was to be challenged upon the arrival of the New Englanders, whose inherent republican tendencies would be further stirred by their discovery that the Council was a nucleus of a loosely knit Church and State party which manifested a tender regard for the British church and state policy.

Charles Lawrence was Governor of Nova Scotia from 1756 to 1764. Jonathan Belcher, who held the post of "Administrator" from October 1760 to November 1761 became Lieutenant Governor under Lawrence at the latter date, serving in that capacity until September 1763 when he was succeeded by Montague Wilmot. Wilmot became Governor in May 1764.

We explain that here to avoid possible confusion, for Nova Scotia had both a Governor and a Lieutenant Governor during the period 1754 to 1786.

In 1759 beginnings of settlement were made over the whole Southwestern division of Nova Scotia as well as along the Isthmus of Chignecto. Of the three great waves of immigration to the Province, this first pre-Loyalist movement deserves the credit for having established British civilization in Nova Scotia.

No glamor was connected with their migration, but there was romance, in a sober sense, of a people on the move. They were not martyrs of a lost cause. They were going to free lands and in some cases free provisions, held out by a Government which in another way expected a full measure of repayment. It was the New Englanders' duty to make their townships flourishing communities so that the agricultural districts could support the fishing villages, which in their turn, could supply foreign as well as local markets. The Imperial aim in populating Nova Scotia was to make the Province economically self-supporting, after which, the British purse strings, strained by war, could be drawn a little tighter. Dividends were expected from the investment in immigration expenses and the rather unfortunate policy, from the point of view of the Board of Trade, of giving away fertile lands, free of charge.

Chapter 7

IMMIGRATION TO N.S. COSTLY

The immigration to Nova Scotia was not regarded with entire approval. The New England proprietors looked on Nova Scotia just as their industrial descendants in the 19th century were to look on cheap Western lands. In both instances the exodus of hard-working people, either of farmers and fishermen, or of artisans and factory workers, meant a decline in prosperity of the New England communities. Besides the barrier put up by the New England land owners, there was the usual opposition of friends, the difficulties of moving, especially for those who lived far from the coast, like the people of Londonderry, New Hampshire.

Displeasure regarding the populating of Nova Scotia was also expressed in England. The repeopling of the former Acadian lands was proving to be a costly venture as far as the British treasury was concerned. The actual expense for the new settlement for 1760 alone was £5,475, 17s, 4d. The British Parliament had voted only £11,785, 6s, 10d for the entire establishment of Nova Scotia. (An English pound is worth about \$2.67 at the present time, and a shilling about 13 cents)

The dykes built by the Acadians had been damaged by the tides and weather during the five-year period between the Expulsion and the beginning of the settlement by the New Englanders. Repair of the dykes was an unforeseen necessary expense. The Board of Trade decided that no more money would be advanced for transportation, provisions or dyke repairs, and as a result Governor Lawrence and his Council were placed on the proverbial "spot" at the height of the immigration. But fortunately for those settlers coming to Nova Scotia in the Spring of 1761 these instructions arrived too late to affect them. The cost of the new settlements mounted with the relief work during the Winter of 1761.

In the spring of 1761 Lieutenant Governor Belcher, who succeeded Lawrence, estimated that the Government was supporting one-quarter of the population of the Province.

Presumably because of the feelings of the Board of Trade over the relatively large bill of expense, the first settlers had difficulty in obtaining a grant of their lands, until five years after their settlement. This untoward event occasioned them much uneasiness, and their discontent manifested itself on several important occasions for many years afterwards.

The difficulties in the way of issuing township grants under Governor Lawrence's proclamation arose from the Board of Trade disapproving of the course pursued by him in promising

free grants of the cultivated lands and dyke marshes of the French. The Board thought that they should have been sold at a moderate price to the settlers from the old colonies, who, they supposed would be possessed of some means. This retarded the grants, and is no doubt the explanation of "the opposition in Halifax" to which Haliburton refers in his "History of Nova Scotia".

Difference of Opinion

Though records show that New Englanders had established themselves in what is now West Hants county, in the Windsor area, during 1760, there is a difference of opinion as to when the Truro area was settled. A number of authorities have asserted that settlement was made at both Onslow and Truro in the same year, (including Dr. Eaton and Israel Longworth). There is evidence to support the contention. In all three of the Onslow grants as well as the Truro grant, which we will tell about later, the conditions were that the first settlers were to be on the ground in the early autumn of 1760. The proof, according to these writers, that Truro and Onslow were established in 1760, rests on the fact that in August of that year, committees of the townships of Onslow and Truro approached the Council at Halifax with a proposal to cut a road from Cobequid to Fort Sackville, provided that the Government would assist them. The Council agreed to allow them provisions while they were actually employed in road making. Were these committees representing settlers already in Cobequid or prospective settlers still in New England? Judge Israel Longworth, who, by the way, was a Truro man, (Longworth Avenue today bears his name), admits in his "History of Colchester County" that the earliest records of Onslow are dated 1761 and that Haliburton gave the date of first settlement as 1761, but argues that the proposal concerning a road to Cobequid is sufficient to prove that settlement took place in 1760.

Thomas Miller records that "in the fall of 1759, about 20 men came up the Bay of Fundy from New England, to Truro and Onslow to make preparations for a settlement. The most of these men had been in Nova Scotia a few years before, assisting in subduing and driving out the old French settlers, and the taking of Louisbourg. These men erected small houses on the same place that Truro now stands, and other parts of the neighborhood. They returned to New England to spend the Winter; and in the Spring of the year 1760 they returned again to Nova Scotia with their families, and commenced the settlement of the country . ." If such is true, then Truro was first settled in 1759. Miller goes on to say that "in July of this year (1760), they applied to the Governor in Council for aid

to cut a road between the several lakes lying between Fort Sackville (now Bedford) and the Shubenacadie River. This road was built for it is shown on map of a survey of Nova Scotia taken by Capt. Montresor, a Royal engineer, in 1766. The road ran from what is now Middle Sackville across to Grand Lake, skirted the West side of the lake and ended at the Shubenacadie River at the head of the Lake.

Answers Date Question

Martell, in his "Pre-Loyalist Settlement of Nova Scotia" believes that the answer to the question of the date of Truro's settlement is to be found in a proclamation published by the Government in December 1760. This proclamation stated that several township grants in the province were in a position to be forfeited, as they had not been settled within the time specified in the grants. Among the townships mentioned were Onslow and Truro. What is the only inference? Settlers for Onslow and Truro had been expected in 1760 and had not come and the committees referred to as making the proposals to build a road were merely looking over the land, as the committees of Horton, Falmouth, and Cornwallis had when they visited Minas and Pisiquid (now Windsor) in 1759.

There are also records that Joseph Rendle and 55 others, principally of Boston, Mass., under date of December 20, 1759, expressed their desire, in a petition to the Government, for rights of land in the township of "Truerow", which they promised to settle in accordance with the Governor's grant. Some of their names, viz: Hunter, Bell, Moore, Johnson, Caldwell, Scott, Savage, and Dunlap, a few years later, though in some instances the representatives of those who signed, were included in the township grant, and a small number found a place among the Onslow grantees. Was it because of the failure of this group to arrive which prompted the Government's proclamation in regard to forfeiture in 1760?

The question of date is taken out of the realm of conjecture, by Charles Morris, the Province's Chief Surveyor, who in his first reports on the province declared that settlement at Onslow and Truro first began in 1761.

In 1882, the committee arranging the first celebration of Truro's Natal Day which was faced with the thorny problems of "fixing" the date, came up with a compromise date between 1759 and 1761—September 13th., 1760. But the Town Council, meeting in April 5th, 1882, passed a resolution, which stated in part:

"And whereas, as nearly as can be ascertained, the first settlement of the English in Truro took place about the thirteenth day of September, 1759 . . . that the thirteenth day of September, 1882, be fixed to celebrate the 123rd

Anniversary of the settlement of the town by the British, and that that day of the month thereafter be kept as a public holiday, as the Natal Day of Truro."

Unless this motion has been rescinded since that time, the 200th anniversary celebrations should properly have taken place in 1959.

Eaton, in his history, states that "a Hampshire regiment, under command of Col. Israel Williams, and a regiment under command of Col. Jedediah Preble" had taken part in the "final reduction of Canada. In Col. Williams' regiment was Lieut. Joseph Scott, of Ware River, and in Col. Preble's regiment, under the captaincy of Andrew Dalrymple, was Ensign Daniel Knowlton, also of Ware River. Scott and Knowlton were among the advance agents sent to Nova Scotia to make arrangements for the settlement of groups of Massachusetts people. Knowlton had already been in Nova Scotia and so had seen something personally of the Province. The other applicants whom they represented, like themselves, in many cases from the Western part of Massachusetts, numbered 52.

"On the return of Scott and Knowlton to Massachusetts, they spread the news of their grant and soon 164 others, most conspicuous among whom seems to have been Richard Upham, signed a paper requesting an interest also in the grant. Shortly after, Timothy Houghton and William Keyes came to Halifax and submitted to the Government the names of 51 persons, whom they described as very desirable men to be admitted to settle also at Cobequid. On October 18, 1759, an order was passed in Council granting 53 rights or shares of 200 acres each in the township to Timothy Houghton and others of Massachusetts, of this group 13 to settle Sept. 30, 1760; 20 Sept. 30, 1761; and 20 on or before Sept. 30, 1762. On the same date Joseph Twitchell and Jonathan Church obtained a grant of 50 shares in the township for 50 persons including themselves, all then in New England, except Joseph Fairbanks, of Halifax, gentleman, who had come from Connecticut to that town.

"On October 26, 1759, Knowlton applied to the Council for 50 more shares in the township, but there being only 41 left, in order to accommodate him and his associates it was resolved that another township, to be called "Wolfe", adjoining Onslow, on the river Chibbenacadie (sic), should be laid out."

(General Wolfe had led the campaign against Louisbourg in 1758 as well as against Quebec in 1759).

Eaton suggests that the "20 men" who Miller says came to this area in 1759 may have been an advance party of the intending Onslow settlers.

Longworth states that "besides Scott and Knowlton the only individuals comprising the 52 first intending settlers who came to the township and became grantees thereof, were Jacob and Thomas Stevens, Jacob Lynds, William Tackles, Hugh Tackles, David Cutten, Abijah Scott, and William Whippie.

"It is also worthy of remark," adds Longworth, "that out of the large number of persons who would have been the grantees of Onslow and Wolfe, had all settled in the Province, no more came than were necessary to fill the requirements of the Onslow grant. This resulted in the proposed township of Wolfe going to others, about the same time, under —not the more euphonious, and certainly not the more illustrious name of Truro."

Chapter 8

THE THREAT OF FORFEITURE

Now, to go back to the proclamation regarding the forfeiture of township grants, which actually was quite lenient. The Government realized that many of the grantees were employed in the reduction of Canada and declared that their interests for the present would be secured. But the committee of the several townships were advised to meet and tell the people that their lands were in danger of forfeiture. The committees were to notify the Nova Scotia Government as to the number of prospective families, with the number of persons in each family and the quantity of their stock, intending to come to the Province. The Government also wanted to know how many of these families would be ready to embark in the Spring of 1761. The benefit of the proclamation was not to extend to any settlers arriving after June 1, 1761.

On the day this proclamation was published, Richard Upham applied for 40 shares for himself and others in any of the townships in the Bay of Fundy. The Council decided that Mr. Upham and his associates should be accommodated in Truro and Onslow.

The threat of forfeiture had its desired effect as far as Onslow and Truro were concerned. Early in April, 1761, Belcher wrote in reference to the proclamation:

“In consequence I have received lists of persons intending to settle Onslow and Truro, who with their families amount to about 500 persons, with a considerable stock of cattle, but all declare their inability of removing unless assisted by the Government with transportation.”

Alexander McNutt, who appears to have been a deputy agent for Mr. Hancock, of Boston, was an active promoter if not of both of these settlements, at least of Truro. But the limit of his activity was to point out the Cobequid district, where six townships had been reserved for him, as a desirable place to settle. The Nova Scotia Government was willing to supply what the settlers were unable to provide for themselves.

The following letter, written by Belcher to Mr. Hancock, which, as far as it is known, had never been transcribed from its manuscript form before it appeared in Martell's history, deserves to be quoted in full. The facts contained in it, are not only interesting in themselves, but furnish proof that there was no previous settlement at Truro or Onslow:

“I have received your letter of the 17th of last month relating to Mr. McKein (sic) and the persons who propose sett-

ling with him at Truro. As I will give you all the encouragement in my power to those people and others coming in those part of this province, I have sent Captain Cobb with two sloops to Boston in order to receive all persons who shall be ready to embark by the 1st of May for Truro and Onslow, and if these vessels shall not be sufficient for the numbers who shall be ready at that time at Boston to embark for those places, I desire you will have a sufficient number for that purpose at the allowance of two tons for each person with their stock. And as proper embarkation for Mr. McKien's (sic) people will be at Haverhill I desire that as soon as they shall be ready for embarkation, which is to be at the first of May, you may hire a sufficient quantity of tonnage at the same allowance at Haverhill or some place in that river; giving orders to all these transports to proceed to Horton in the Basin of Minas where they will receive directions for their further proceeding.

"It will be necessary to give notice to these people to provide themselves with provisions for their passage, as well as for the time to come, as the Government cannot make any allowance of that kind. As it will be necessary that some small barracks should be erected for the troops which will be ordered for the protection of the new settlements, I must desire that you will send 60,000 feet of boards and two frames each of 24 feet by 60 to Horton where further directions will be given for their destination.

"P. S. I have received a letter from Mr. Moorhead concerning 26 people coming to this province, at the head of whom is Mr. Gambel. I desire they may have the opportunity of transporting themselves and stock on board one of these vessels."

Belcher wrote to Mr. Moorhead five days later to say that "Captain Cobb has particular instructions to accommodate Mr. Gambol (sic) and his people in the best manner."

There is no record of how many transports were involved, but it is presumed from Belcher's sailing orders to Captain Cobb April 19, 1761, that at least three ships were used. Cobb, who was master of the sloop York and Halifax, received the orders: "To sail immediately for Boston, and to receive such settlers for Truro and Onslow as Mr. Hancock shall direct on board the sloop, at your command (presumably meaning the "Montague") and also on board the transport sloop. To inform Mr. Hancock that the sloop Cumberland, Captain Johnathan Morecomb, now bound for the Bay of Fundy, will, on discharging her cargo there, proceed to Boston to take on board settlers for Truro and Onslow. Mr. Hancock has directions to provide transportation for 26, of whom Mr. Gambal is the principal, and who have been recommended by Mr. Morehead, and you will take care to accommodate them in

the best manner of which you are capable, in preference to any others."

Early Settlement Desired

The Government had determined to start immigration as soon as possible in order that the spirit of settlement would not be checked and that the crops of the 1761 settlers might be sown early. Thus it was that early in April the Province vessels were making their way to New England.

On the 27th of that month, the following notice appeared in *The Boston Gazette*:

"These are to give public notice to all those who are engaged to settle at Truro and Onslow in Nova Scotia, that the Hon. Mr. President Belcher, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, hath sent the Montague armed vessel, Captain Sylvanus Cobb, with other transports sufficient to carry them and their effects to the said places; that they will be allowed two tons to each person with their stock; said Cobb may be treated with on board his vessel at Clark's wharf. The settlers are desired to be ready by the first of May to embark, or as soon after as possible, and all necessary preparations will be made to receive them. Notice is also given that the people are to provide themselves with provisions for their passages as well as the time to come; that there will be troops ordered for their assistance and protection. Letters and lists may be left and further information had at Mr. Hancock's store in Boston.

"As the proper embarkation for Mr. McKien's people may be at Haverhill, or somewhere in that river, transports will be provided for them there at the most convenient place. April 25, 1761."

It will be noticed that no promises of provisions were made to those settlers of 1761, who transported themselves at their own expense, including household effects, cattle, etc.

Military protection for the Cobequid settlers was among the first cares of the Government. In April, Belcher wrote to Col. Forster, commanding officer of His Majesty's troops in Nova Scotia:

"As the Government of this Province is immediately about settling the lands formerly called Cobequid in the Bay of Fundy and the settlers of the two townships are expected to arrive there by the middle of next month, I must apply to you for 200 men of the Ranging Companies, the number judged necessary for the protection of the settlers and to defend them against any attempts or discouragements which may happen from fugitive Acadians or the Acadians who have not made submission to His Majesty."

The people who set out for Truro were practically all from New Hampshire, with the majority coming from Londonderry. They probably embarked at Haverhill or some other nearby place on the Merrimack River, which is on the boundary line of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

The New Englanders destined for Onslow were the most part from Massachusetts communities—Brookfield, Dudley, Spencer, Western (now Warren), perhaps Worcester, in Worcester County; Brimfield and Palmer, in Hampden County; Medfield in Norfolk County; Malden, Reading and Woburn, in Middlesex County; and North Bridgewater in Plymouth County. They embarked at Boston.

In all these aforementioned towns, social and economic cleavages had produced bitter discontent and unrest.

After a long passage, with contrary winds, the settlers arrived at Cobequid and are believed to have first landed at or near what later became known as Savage's Island about half a mile below the present Board Landing Bridge.

Orders, Transports Discharged

Belcher, in a letter to Hancock May 30, 1761, wrote: "I have received your obliging letter, 14th instant, informing of the despatch you had given to Capt. Cobb and Capt. Dogget, who with the other transports of settlers for Truro and Onslow, are arrived in the Basin of Minas. On landing the settlers and their effects, I have ordered these transports to be forthwith discharged." Belcher also assured Mr. Hancock that shortly after May 14 the Chief Surveyor "set out for Cobequid to give the necessary directions for accommodating the settlers, and will take care of the Boards and Frames for the barracks when they arrive at Horton."

On May 25, 1761, time enough for Cobb to have returned with Gambal and his associates, Charles Morris, the Chief Surveyor, received instructions "to lay out and aid in settling the townships at Cobequid as many of the settlers had arrived."

Governor Belcher wrote Isaac Deschamp June 14, 1761 to say: "I hope sloop Biddeford has safely got to Cobequid by the assistance of the pilot despatched from here a few days ago," and on June 18, 1761, he gave him directions for the Acadians to repair the dykes. The reference to the Acadians here will be explained further on.

From the record of dates in these letters we can get an approximate period of time during which the landings were made. It is obvious that all vessels used in the transportation did not reach Truro at the same time.

The transports brought 53 grantees (120 persons) with 117 head of cattle to Truro and 52 grantees (309 persons) with 117 head of cattle and horses to Onslow. According to Longworth the Government supplied the new settlers with 600 bushels of seed corn for planting on their arrival, while former Lieut. Governor A. G. Archibald, said in an address at the first Natal Day observance in 1882 that the newcomers brought seed-corn and potatoes with them. Haliburton says "the first British settlers who came from the Province of Massachusetts and were of various origins, landed in Onslow in the Summer of 1761, to the number of 30 families, and brought with them 20 head of horned cattle, eight horses, and 70 sheep". Haliburton's reference, presumably, is to the second installment of signers under Scott and Knowlton who were to settle in May of that year.

Chapter 9

SETTLING THE NEW LAND

Governor Lawrence spoke of "the spirit and content" with which the new settlers of the Cobequid townships began their new life, while Charles Morris described them as a "substantial, laborious people, adapted entirely to agriculture."

Let us now try to get a mental picture of the land and conditions which greeted the new arrivals. Five years before there had been Acadian settlements on both sides of Cobequid Bay: a scattered settlement between what is now Truro and Masstown and a similar scattered settlement in the Old Barns-Clifton area. The main artery of commerce between Halifax and these settlements was the Shubenacadie River and the lakes at its source. The Chiganois (Isgonish) and French Rivers, with a portage between, was the water route to Patermagouche (Tatamagouche), Isle St. John (Prince Edward Island) and Isle Royale (Cape Breton). There was also a French settlement and a "Fort St. Lawrence" at what is now Black Rock and also a village at Noel, hence the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul which was erected at what is now Masstown was conveniently situated for travellers along the water routes and those in the settlements. Masstown derives its name because of it being the location of this Church.

When the Expulsion of the Acadians took place in 1755 their Church and most of their homes were burned. Many Acadians escaped to the woods or fled Northward to what is now New Brunswick. After the "final reduction of Canada" in 1759 there was peace for three years in Nova Scotia. The Government at Halifax had tried unsuccessfully for years by every means possible to get the Acadians to take the Oath of Allegiance without success, and had finally resorted to the Expulsion.

Peaceful Co-existence

During the lull between 1759 and the outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1763 the policy of the Government appeared to be one of "peaceful co-existence" with them. Actually their services were much sought after when the New Englanders arrived, for the Acadians were the only ones who had any skill at dyke-repairing. Though, technically they were prisoners-of-war at large, they were actually hired and paid for their services in the work on the dykes and other necessary preparations of the land for the new settlers.

The Acadians had called their settlement in the Truro area "Cobequit" from the Indian "Way-Kob-begitk" meaning

"bound of the rushing waters. Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

Longworth gives a vivid picture of the countryside the new settlers saw on their landing. "The dykes built by the Acadians were broken. The tide had resumed its sway over the muddy expanse which extended Westerly from the Lower Ford, so called. (The Lower Ford was where the Park Street bridge is now located and was reached from what later became known for this reason as "Ford" Street.) One vast sheet of dreary mud flats extended from the intervalles of the Salmon and North Rivers all the way down to Savage's Island. Above to the East, all was wilderness. The lovely meadows, which now form so fine a scenery on North and Salmon Rivers, were then covered with virgin forest . . . From either side of the Bay, the flats on the opposite shore were skirted by a forest which extended away as far as the eye could reach, till the tops of the trees on the hills were outlined on the sky."

It is said that as the little party of immigrants were moving inland from the Bay shore, they were sadly moved with a sense of the desolation which surrounded them in this, their second migration, so that the weaker hearted were quite overcome by their feelings.

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept."

For many years that section of marshland lying between West Prince Street and Robie Street, and the stream which ran through it, were referred to as "the Babel"—the place where "we sat down and wept."

At that time, the woods extended down to the marshland North of what is now Queen Street. The North side of Queen Street was frontier land and when Queen Street was first laid out it was called "Front" Street. Later on as the land was cleared, the street now known as Prince Street was laid out and it was called "Back" Street.

Forts Built

As mentioned before the Government provided troops and built stockaded forts for the protection of the settlers against attacks of the Indians. One such fort was built on a low upland promontory jutting out into the marsh at the rear of what is now the residence of W.A. Flemming, on Queen Street. (A fort had been built at each end of the community when Londonderry, New Hampshire, was first settled, into which all the inhabitants fled when word reached them that the Indians were on the warpath.)

Fort Belcher was built in Lower Onslow on a promontory overlooking the Bay, for the use of the settlers in that area. Fortunately, the settlers needed to use the forts only for pro-

tection from the elements during the first few weeks when they were busily engaged building their homes, repairing dykes, and getting their seed in the ground.

Fort Ellis was built about the same time on a promontory at the confluence of the Stewiacke and Shubenacadie Rivers for protection of settlers on the marshlands in those areas.

This fort was named after Henry Ellis, who was Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia from September 1761 to November 1763, but never came to Nova Scotia, leaving the administration of the Province in Belcher's hands.

Longworth states that the new settlers on arrival had been warned of a concentration of hostile Indians in the Pictou area, and sent a scouting party to investigate. "Tom Archibald, Ephriam Howard, and John Oughterson volunteered for this service," relates Longworth. "In prosecuting it, they came to high land, not far from Pictou as they supposed, when they concluded that one of them should climb the tallest tree to see if Pictou Harbour was visible. The tree was selected when Oughterson said to Archibald "Mount, Tom" from which circumstance the Hill received the name of "Mount Tom" which it still retains."

Such a children's-tale style version may help break the monotony of historical material which is usually "dry" reading, but the name "Mount Thom" however, actually originated from the grant of 1,000 acres of land in that area in 1829 to William Thom and four others who came from Ireland. In the group were Thomas Robinson (300 acres), Henry Clarke (200 acres), William Waller (100 acres), Alexander Urquhart (200 acres) and William Thom (200 acres).

Dr. Isaac Thom, incidentally, was the first Postmaster at Londonderry, N.H.

Similar Pattern

The pattern of settlement of the new lands was similar to that employed by the settlers of Londonderry, N.H. 40 years previously. Everything was regulated in township meetings which began in July, and democratic impartiality appears to have been the rule of procedure. The initial business was the division of grants. The townships were divided into town lots, farm lots, dyke lots and wood lots. Lot layers were appointed in each community; these officials being appointed by the township meetings. All lots were numbered and drawn for, each settler getting a fair share in all the divisions. If the land was poor, additional quantity compensated for lack of quality. The lands set off for public use were "Parades", Church and school reservations and burial grounds. The Truro "Parade" was what is now Victoria Square, while the Onslow

"Parade" was the crossroads area at what is now known as Mingo's Corner.

In the Spring of 1760 the Provincial Assembly had passed an Act to enable the proprietors to divide their lands "held in Common and Undivided", but the Imperial authorities disallowed the Act in the following year. An illustration of how the township meeting directed the division of land may be seen in the township records of West Falmouth. At a gathering of grantees in August 1760, 200 acres were voted for a common and 1,000 acres for the town lots. It was also voted "that the cleared upland be laid out next after the aforesaid 1,000 be lay'd out." And then it was voted "that the salt marsh be lay'd out next after the cleared upland shall be lay'd out."

After the land was divided out among the proprietors, the building of houses began. The Cobequid settlers, unlike their brethren at West Falmouth, were not heirs to Acadian buildings, with the exception of two barns which remained standing in 1761. The new settlers gave the name "Old Barns" to the place in which they were located.

The building of homes was not a tedious business. There was an abundance of trees, and a few trees chopped down and cut into lengths, then hewed and piled on each other, gave the four walls required. Poles surmounted with bark made a roof. Windows and doors were sawn in the walls, and a chimney was soon improvised. A square frame-work of sticks, plastered inside with mud, gave all the flue that was required, while a huge opening below offered a fire-place large enough to warm and light the apartments with logs felled at the door.

They planted their crops, and fodder for the cattle during the Winter was secured by mowing and curing the salt grass which grew on the higher and flats. When this was safely stacked the settlers turned their attention to the condition of the dykes. The Government was requested to appoint a committee to take care of the same.

Business Of Meetings

An enumeration of the business proposed at one of the early township meetings at Onslow will be sufficient to picture the activities of these early colonists: to choose a Moderator; to choose a Proprietors' clerk; to choose a committee for calling meetings in the future; to choose a committee for distributing the corn; to choose a committee to divide the marsh, the improved land, and the first division of the unimproved land; to request the Commander-in-Chief to appoint Commissioners for mending and repairing the dykes; to lay out highways or roads and to choose a committee and surveyors to clear



THE BLOCKHOUSE OF FORT EDWARD at Windsor which still stands, will give the reader an idea of the type of forts which were built on what is now W.A. Fleming's property on Queen Street and at Fort Belcher in Lower Onslow to provide refuge for the new settlers against attack by Indians.

the roads; to consider things that will be needful and profitable for the "propriaty".

The New Englanders who migrated in the Spring of 1761 received free transportation. But after the instructions of the Board of Trade were received at Halifax, that is, after May 5, 1761, no more transports were hired at the Government's expense. This undoubtedly decreased the Summer immigration, although the free offer of lands sufficed many of the prospective settlers, who transported themselves at their own cost. The importation of stock was encouraged by allowing each immigrant a sum not over 30 shillings in lieu of trans-

portation. During the second Summer of the migration, the townships of Onslow, Truro, Cumberland, Chignecto, Annapolis and Granville received their first settlers. The population of the province, at the end of 1761, had nearly reached the 8,000 mark. In the townships of Horton, Cornwallis, Falmouth, Newport, Truro, and Onslow, the inhabitants totalled 2,370.

The planting of crops had been one of the main reasons for the early transport of settlers in 1761. The migration of New Englanders had already exceeded all financial estimates and the sooner the prediction of Lawrence (that the colony would be self-supporting in a few years) came true the better. The enormous national debt being piled up by the war was beginning to affect Imperial policy. We have already seen how the Lords of Trade, early in 1761, flatly refused to put forth any more money for transportation or provisions.

The provincial revenue was little or more than a pittance. The Government was already in debt. As conditions were it was little short of necessary that the new settlers support themselves as soon as possible. Misfortune attended their efforts. A great Summer drought blasted the Government's hopes and the settlers crops. The Chief Surveyor's report of the province in 1761 supplies the actual facts. There was enough hay cut in most districts to supply the needs of the stock, but one story was common for every community around Minas Basin: the crops of corn were ruined for the want of rain. (Corn, here, refers to wheat, oats, barley, etc. Maize, or Indian corn, is described by that term.)

Loan To Settlers

Only at Newport had a considerable quantity of English grain been raised, but not enough to subsist the settlement. The new townships of Truro and Onslow were most affected by the elements. What remained of the crops after a Summer of dry heat was gathered and roots were raised. In the middle of the Summer the Council voted the purchase of 3,000 bushels of corn for the "several settlements". By the Autumn of 1761, when it was found that provisions could no longer be given free of charge, the Government decided to make a loan to the settlers. In order that corn could be procured without delay, the Assembly even empowered the Executive to raise £700 extra, if the Parliamentary grants proved to be insufficient. Belcher expressed his assurance to their Lordships that the grant would "extend all necessities".

1,400 bushels of corn were delivered to committees at Onslow and Truro, upon their bonds to the treasury. The provisions were to be properly distributed during the coming

Winter and Spring to each settler on his promissory note of repayment to the committee.

Definite progress was made in the repairing of dykes during 1761, and, as Belcher hastened to point out to the Board of Trade, at no expense to the Government. The cost of mending the dykes was borne by the townships of Onslow and Truro, where 120 and 240 acres, respectively, were nearly ready for cultivation. The dykes were by no means in their original condition and, in any event, repairs were always necessary, with the Acadians doing most of the work.

Besides the marshland there were great areas of "cleared upland". Statistics for 1761 show that there were 2,000 acres of such land at both Horton and Falmouth, 2,000 at Cornwallis, and 600 at Newport, but at Truro and Onslow there were only 100 and 70 acres respectively. "Cleared land" must refer to naturally open land, because it is well known that the Acadians added little to nature as far as clearing of land was concerned.

Fishing supplemented farming in the settlements, especially in the years of bad crops. If rough boards were needed, the resources of the forest could not have been nearer. By the end of the Summer no more provisions were supplied free of charge to the settlers; the settlers were obliged to repay the debt within a few years.

Apart from their economic life, the military, or rather the Acadian and Indian situation, occupied the most space of men's thoughts during the first two or three years of settlement. In the Northern part of the Province, there were over 1500 Acadians and some Indians who had not surrendered to the British. Not only were they fitting out armed ships to prey upon trading vessels, but they were even hoping to regain their former lands at Chignecto. There are no records that the Acadians actually made attacks on the new settlements, but while they remained in the province there was a continual fear of an internal uprising. This fear was to develop into a province-wide terror in 1762.

Chapter 10

THE SQUABBLE OVER GRANTS

The Autumn of 1761 marked the arrival of the first settlers brought to Nova Scotia by Alexander McNutt. These were the Ulster Irish, who came directly from the Old Country, particularly Londonderry, and landed at Halifax on October 9 in the ship "Hopewell". McNutt represented their numbers to the Board of Trade as nearly 400, and to the Council at Halifax as "upwards of 300", but Belcher spoke of them as being "upwards of 200 persons" while the report of the committee of the Council in 1766 gave the number as "about 250"

It appears that McNutt, as colonization agent for the British Government, looked after the purchasing and supplying of provisions for the newcomers, and it is reasonable to assume that his estimate of the number of passengers aboard the "Hopewell" was based on the quantity of provisions supplied.

The immigration from Ulster had been made at no expense to the Nova Scotia Government under whose favor McNutt now basked.

The Irishmen, although indigent and without stock, were industrious, sober and would evidently be content with small lots of land. They engaged in common labor and worked at cheaper rates than the poorer types of New Englanders, who had refused to labor under four shillings a day, when the Ulster Irish considered themselves well rewarded with two. At first the immigrants were confined on Cornwallis Island in Halifax Harbour because small pox had broken out on the "Hopewell" during the Atlantic crossing. While his charges remained at Halifax, McNutt and a few of the principal Irishmen set out for Cobequid and Shubenacadie districts to view the lands.

The Ulster pioneers had arrived too late in the season to begin any permanent settlement. They remained at Halifax during the Winter supporting themselves by their own labour with the assistance of the Government, charitable aid of the citizens, and some provisions furnished them by Colonel McNutt.

Taken To Cobequid

In the Spring of 1762, the Council and some influential Haligonians hired a vessel to transport them to the district of Cobequid, where the best marshlands of that area were assigned to them. Provisions, seed corn, tools and materials for building were also supplied. A certain number of the Irish

settled at Truro, Onslow, and the Pisiquid district, but the majority of the "Hopewell's" passengers were among the Londonderry grantees.

Accounts of the Londonderry settlement have hitherto been incomplete. Some writers leave the story with the Spring of 1762—before the Londonderry township was even a name. Others continue, after a gap of 13 years, and give particulars concerning a Londonderry township grant of 1775 but declare that an explanation cannot be given as to why the Irish settlers received no grant for 14 years. It can now be stated that the first grant to the Londonderry settlers was made in 1765. Before that year, even the name Londonderry cannot be found in the Provincial records. It is not mentioned in the Census of 1763; but the Census does give an account of 15 families, "Protestants from Ireland", who were living on the North side of the Cobequid Basin—the site of the future Londonderry township. These were the immigrants of 1761.

By the year 1765, their numbers had definitely increased by the addition of numerous of their fellow countrymen. In the Autumn of 1762, McNutt brought 150 more Irish to Halifax. They were settled at La Have and formed the township of New Dublin. But they did not remain there, leaving from time to time for places more promising, as they put it: "more inviting prospects," and by the year 1767 there were only 11 Irish left in the place. There were "more inviting prospects" among their brethren in the Cobequid district, where many of the New Dublin Irish probably migrated.

A third Ulster contingent of 50 persons, chiefly belonging to families before introduced and settled by Colonel McNutt, landed at Halifax in 1765. Their destination was not disclosed but it is natural to believe that they settled among their people at Cobequid. By the year 1765 there were enough people on the North side of the Bay to justify a township.

The stimulus and first mention of the Londonderry township came from Alexander McNutt. On May 29, 1765, he petitioned the Council that the lands "on the North side of the Basin of Minas" might be erected "into two townships to be called Londonderry and Belfast." All the lands stretching from Onslow to Cape Dore had been reserved for McNutt, and Charles Morris, in his 1761 report mentions that two townships were to be established in that district.

The Council acceded to McNutt's memorial and appointed a committee of McNutt, William Fisher and Samuel Archibald, Jr., to divide the lands of the Londonderry area "according to their quality and report them to the Governor-in-Council."

X In the belief that an official grant was made before the Summer ended, Martell says he made a meticulous and fruitless search through the Council minutes. The following information was finally found in an official land grant book: the township of Londonderry was established on October 30, 1765, by a great of 100,000 acres to Robert Barnhill and 96 others.

Frequent Mention

There is frequent mention of the township after that year. A letter dated in 1766 from Lieut. Governor Franklin speaks of the townships of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry as having a population of 694 in all. From another letter, written in the same year by the Secretary of State, is taken the following:

"It appears from the grant of the township of Londonderry bearing the date of the 30th day of October 1765. . . ."

Statistics on the Londonderry township appear in the Census of 1767. Yet, in spite of these facts, there appears to be something lacking—an official note of formality concerning the grant. Martell considers the omission in the Council minutes as strange, but goes on to say that the key to the mystery may be found in the Council minutes for November 2, 1774. On that day a memorial was read from John Morrison and James Fulton on behalf of themselves and other settlers of the township of Londonderry. The petitioners stated that "they had been upwards of 10 years in possession of lands in said township by authority from the Government and had a grant pass'd to them, but by the instructions of Alexander McNutt they had not taken out said grant." They prayed that they might have a new grant "on the same conditions on which they were to have had their former grant." The "conditions" were the payment of quit rents. The payment of fees and the influence of McNutt had deterred the Ulster Irish from formally accepting the 1765 grant.

The Council acceded to the memorial and assured them that quit rents would be payable the following year. Only those who were in possession of their land by authority of the Government were to be in the new grant.

This latter provision appears to have prompted a show-down squabble to decide who and who did not have title to lands.

On February 10, 1775, the Surveyor-General presented the Council with a list of persons legally entitled to land at Londonderry, and the second, and this time formal, grant of the Londonderry township was made. It passed the Province Seal on March 6, 1775.



LONDONDERRY TODAY—The Guild Hall of Londonderry, Ireland, is seen through one of the gates in the famous city walls, part of which may be seen in the foreground. The walls stand today as they did in 1615. This photo is from the Photographs Library of the Northern Ireland Tourist Board, 10 Royal Avenue, Belfast.

Though Truro and Onslow were first settled in 1760 or 1761 the Grant for Truro was not formally made until 1765, and that of Onslow not until 1769. The Londonderry Grant was not formally made until 1775. And there were reasons for the delay.

Township grants were drafted for the agents of the settlers who approached the Nova Scotia Government in 1759. These are called provisional grants. When the settlers actually arrived, many discrepancies were apparent in these grants; a great number of the original grantees had not come, while others, who were not in the 1759 grants, had come. During the period of settlement, not only was there immigration from New England and Ulster, but there was migration within Nova Scotia itself. Settlers exchanging lots in one township for those in another was not an uncommon practise. The desire to be near friends or dissatisfaction with lots or locations were very natural reasons for such exchanges.

After the first few years of settlement, the migration between the townships was the result of normal expansion; grown-up sons left the family lot for a share in one of the new townships. Exchanges of family lots took place within the settlement itself. Forfeitures were not rare and there was the occasional sale.

Formed New Settlements

It was during this period that the Archibalds and the McKeens went out from Truro to form new settlements in the Musquodoboit and St. Mary's River Valley. People from the Minas Basin settlements came to Cobequid and vice versa.

At the beginning of 1762, vacant lots in the townships already established were by no means uncommon. These lots had been forfeited because the grantees had not settled or improved them within the specified time. Official action was taken early in 1762. Before the Spring navigation season opened Belcher issued a proclamation dated March 25, 1762, stating that many Rights had become vacant in several of the townships "by failure of the grantees of performance of the required conditions of settling within with their families within a limited time." The proclamation gave notice that "all persons who shall come as settlers" to any of the townships "with their families and stock on or before the 18th day of September next, shall be entitled to shares according to the number in each family, and in proportion to the grants heretofore made until the number in each township shall be completed."

The colonists who came to Nova Scotia in 1762 were to receive no benefits from the Government; transportation and

provisions would be at their own expense. The forfeiting grantees, provided that they arrived before the proclamation expired, were offered an equal chance with others to take up vacant lots.

Just how far this proclamation stimulated the New England migration cannot be exactly determined, but in any event, by the end of June 1763, it could be reported that "many settlers have arrived in the Province with stock and other abilities for improvements." They brought credentials "of their industry and knowledge in husbandry". Those who did not settle at Barrington and Yarmouth augmented the settlements at Truro, Onslow, and Newport. As the Summer advanced, the settlements of Truro and Onslow were "considerably increased" by the arrival of the newcomers. Many of these Summer immigrants were reported to be "of substance and industry."

Widespread Terror

The Acadian problem became acute again in 1762, and as mentioned previously, there was widespread terror of an Acadian and Indian uprising by the end of that year. As a result many of the settlers returned to New England.

The following year 1763 was famous for two things: the Treaty of Paris ending the Seven Years War between Britain and France, and the settlement proclamation, prohibiting the Westward expansion of the 13 New England colonies. Having decided to keep their American colonists on the Eastern side of the Appalachians, the Imperial authorities began to forward immigration to the two new colonies in Florida and the old colony in Nova Scotia. New instructions for land-granting were sent to the Government of Nova Scotia in 1764. It so happened that about this time there was a craze among influential Englishmen to speculate in new lands. All through 1764 the British manipulators petitioned the Board of Trade for great tracts of land in Nova Scotia and they secured special Orders in Council, which contained more favorable conditions of settlement than the general instructions of 1764 allowed. The American speculators were also ready to partake of the spoils. Their land agents arrived in Halifax early in 1765. The most prominent among the petitioners was Alexander McNutt, who asked for special concessions.

Thus the year 1765 witnessed the greatest period of land granting in the history of Nova Scotia. It was the golden age of land pirates. Millions of acres were granted; and within two decades millions of acres were forfeited. There was no settlement. In 17 days of October 1765, seven times as much land was granted to speculators as in all the other 33 years of pre-

Loyalist settlement. And more than half the land was given to Alexander McNutt and his associates.

In response to McNutt's petitions for special concessions the Board of Trade recommended to the King that the terms of settlement for McNutt's people be made more lenient. But at the same time they prohibited any further immigration from Ireland. It happened that the Secretary of State, Lord Hillsborough, owned great estates in Ireland and he had no desire to see the country depopulated.

It is easy to understand in view of these events why so many disputes arose over title of lands during that period. We have explained that provisional grants were issued to agents of intending new settlers before they arrived. Effective grants were issued when the settlers were actually on the ground.

Dates and number of grantees for the three townships were **Provincial grants**-Truro, Nov. 24, 1759 - 119; Onslow, July 26, 1759 - 52; Oct. 18, 1759 - 50; Oct. 18, 1759 - 53; Total 155. **Effective grants** —Onslow: general grant Feb. 21, 1769 -80; Truro: general grant Oct. 21, 1765 - 82; Londonderry: 1765 Grant Oct. 30, 1765- 97; formal grant, March 6, 1775 -67.

When the Onslow and Truro settlers arrived in the Summer of 1761, they found the marshes "to be much less than they had expected" and declared that there was not sufficient quantity to subsist 200 families in each township as formerly proposed, so in July 1761, the Council reduced the number of shares in each of these townships to 150.

In August 1766 the Provincial Secretary wrote to the three Justices of the Peace at Cobequid relating complaints he had received concerning certain persons in the township of Londonderry. These people, it seems, had set themselves up as a committee and drove grantees from their lots. They claimed the right to dispose of ungranted lands "in open contempt and defiance to the King's Right and Authority."

Frequent cases of land-jobbing were inevitable during this early period, and the practise was not confined to Londonderry alone. Largest grants were generally confined to 1,000 acres. The dangerous effect of repeated changes of grantees on the settlement of the country and the improvement of the land was not overlooked by the Government. In the Summer of 1762, a proclamation was issued imposing a penalty of £50 on all persons alienating lands without license or possessing lands without authority. But the land disputes continued and had become so widespread by 1763 that the Morris-Bulkely report recommended an investigation of the contested rights and titles.

A council committee of Charles Morris and Henry Newton was appointed to make a report on the land situation in the

province. The results of their efforts were presented to the Council in the Spring of 1764.

We have already seen how an independent committee took over control of Londonderry in 1766. They also, under warrant of one of the Justices of the Peace, attempted a division of land in their township. But the Council intervened, citing the royal disallowance of the Provincial act. In October 1766 the Council declared that the proceedings of the Londonderry committee "were unlawful and null and void". Not only was the committee to have notice of this decision, but the Justices of the Peace were warned that if any of them should again issue warrants for such purposes, they would lose their commissions. As some of the Londonderry people had been disturbed in their possession of land by the illegal committee, the Justices of the Peace of the Cobequid district were ordered to put into force the Provincial Act dealing with forcible entry or detainer.

As stated before, the trouble over land titles was not confined to Londonderry in the Cobequid district. In the previous year, a petition from McNutt had set forth the necessity of appointing proper persons at Onslow and Truro for the regulation and distribution of lands. An additional memorial from Onslow a month later secured a committee to regulate lands for that township. A Council committee of Charles Morris and Jonathan Binney in the year 1768 made an examination of the land situation in the Cobequid district.

As soon as the matter of titles of grants had been eventually straightened out the Governmental procedure, known as the surrendering of grants took place: the Government advised of the return of the old provisional grants and then effective grants were issued.

Martell made an exhaustive analysis of the draft and effective grants of the townships of Truro and Onslow and produced the following facts:

Onslow—Eight names on the original three lists appeared on the effective grant. These eight were all in the first grant (to Scott and Knowlton). None of the other 147 original grantees appeared on the effective grant for Truro. Ten names of the 164 on a list made in 1759 of those who desired an interest in the Onslow township appeared on the effective grant.

Richard Upham and others were granted 40 shares in Onslow or Truro in 1760—but no grant or list is extant. Richard Upham, himself, went to Onslow.

Truro—One name of the 82 on the original list appeared on the effective grant. Seven names of the original 82 appeared on the Onslow effective grant, but six of these were also on the list of 164 who desired a grant in Onslow. Five names

of a list of 56 made in 1759 of those who were desirous of land at Truro appeared on the effective Truro grant. One name of the said 56 appeared on the effective Onslow grant (disproving former beliefs). One name only on the list of 56 also appeared on the 1759 provisional grant for Truro (disproving former conjectures).

In reference to Colonel Alexander McNutt, who, by the way, was a grantee of the township of Truro, Eaton says in his "Settling of Colchester County":

"A greater adventurer than McNutt cannot be found in the annals of American history, at least in the 18th century. After this militia captain had brought out the two companies from Ireland to Halifax in 1761 and 1762 respectively, he turned his attention to the people of his own nationality and others in Pennsylvania. The result of his efforts there was far more disappointing than in Ireland, for of the Pennsylvanians who he managed to interest in Nova Scotia lands, not more than half a dozen it would seem, permanently settled in the Province. Before his negotiations with the Nova Scotia government ended, however, his name appeared with others in grants, reaching the enormous sum of considerably over 2,000,000 acres of land, most of which was escheated in the end. Vast colonization projects rose in his mind, and he had the aggressive force necessary to carry them out, but it was his misfortune sooner or later to lose the confidence of most of the people with whom he had dealings, and at last, in 1769, the Nova Scotia Council threatened him with prosecution for claiming to have the King's sign manual to settle all ungranted lands in the Province and for acting under this magnificent delusion.

"From 1778 until 1780 or '81 he was in Boston, strongly sympathizing with the American cause and occasionally appealing to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia to send forces to Nova Scotia to deliver the people there from what he claimed to be British tyranny. After 1781 we know little certainly of him, but it seems to be well established that he returned to Virginia and there spent his last days, setting on foot remarkable stories of honours he had received in England and Nova Scotia, which are known never to have been granted him, and services in the war of the Revolution that we know he never performed. His death is believed to have occurred in 1811."

Chapter 11

THE ORIGINAL GRANTEES

Why the townships of Truro and Onslow were so named is not clear, but it is obvious that they were merely arbitrary designations to identify these particular land areas in the colonization plans. These names were presumably given to suit the taste, whim, or fancy of some administration officer, secretary, or clerk, who, for convenience sake, was obliged to call them something. They could just as well have been designated by number.

There is no obvious connection between the settlers of the township of Truro with the people of Truro, in Cornwall, England, and Arthur Onslow, after whom the township of Onslow was named. Arthur Onslow was an English statesman who was born in 1691, and was Speaker in the English House of Commons from 1727 to 1754. A county and shire-town in North Carolina, known as Onslow Court House, has also been named after him, but there again is no obvious connection between that community and the Nova Scotia Onslow.

The Northern boundary line of the township of Truro was described in the Grant as "beginning at a creek about half a mile up Salmon River on the Northside and running East four miles." We presume the "creek" referred to is the North River. A line running due East from that point would reach the Salmon River again at or near Valley. Hence what is presently known as Bible Hill was part of the Truro township. Eaton thinks that the first settlers, loyal to their Irish and New Hampshire tradition, called the area of what is now Truro and Bible Hill, Derry Village, and Lower Truro, Down Village. Castlereagh, near Londonderry, was presumably named after Lord Castlereagh an Ulster statesman, while the names of the villages of Antrim and Balmoral Mills signify that the early settlers there were from Ulster. "Bible Hill" was used by the less orthodox people of what is now Truro, to designate the area where the "society" of Truro resided. Thomas Miller makes reference to one of these residents, Matthew Archibald, who "was eminently pious; and, from his careful use of the Bible, the hill took its name."

It will be recalled from a previous chapter that instead of Truro, the name Wolfe was considered for the township, in honor of General Wolfe, hero of Louisbourg and Quebec.

The three townships of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry comprised an area of about half of the present area of Colchester, as may be seen on the map on page 72.

The boundaries of the township of Truro, as described in the Grant issued October 31, 1765, were as follows:

“Beginning at a creek about half a mile up Salmon River on the Northside and running East four miles, thence South six miles and a quarter, thence South 87 degrees West 12 miles and a quarter, more or less till it meets the Shubenacadie River, thence is bounded by said river and Cobequid Bay to the first mentioned boundary.”

Despite opinions of some local writers, there is no mention of any so-called “base-line” four miles East of the Shubenacadie River as the Western boundary of the township. In two descriptions of the township in the notebook of Charles Morris, Chief Surveyor, the Shubenacadie River is given in both descriptions as the Western boundary. These other two descriptions, though they vary somewhat from the description in the Grant issued, are essentially the same.

The early settlers occupied their lands for years without having them properly laid off, and it was not until 1783 that this was done for Truro and Onslow in response to a request to the Supreme Court at Halifax three years earlier for a Writ of Partition.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in the township of Londonderry when boundaries of land holdings were established under a Writ of Partition in 1794. The reason for this has been given in the previous chapter.

In laying off the boundaries of these lands, the surveyors established a number of “base-lines” through the townships, simply as reference lines. The Southern boundary of the present town of Truro, for instance, is along an old base-line. It was customary to provide for highways—a strip 66-feet wide—running along base-lines. Young Street is an example of one such highway running along a base-line. It would appear also that after the lot lines of the various Rights had been laid out, the township boundary lines were adjusted to coincide with the lines of the lots.

No Reservations

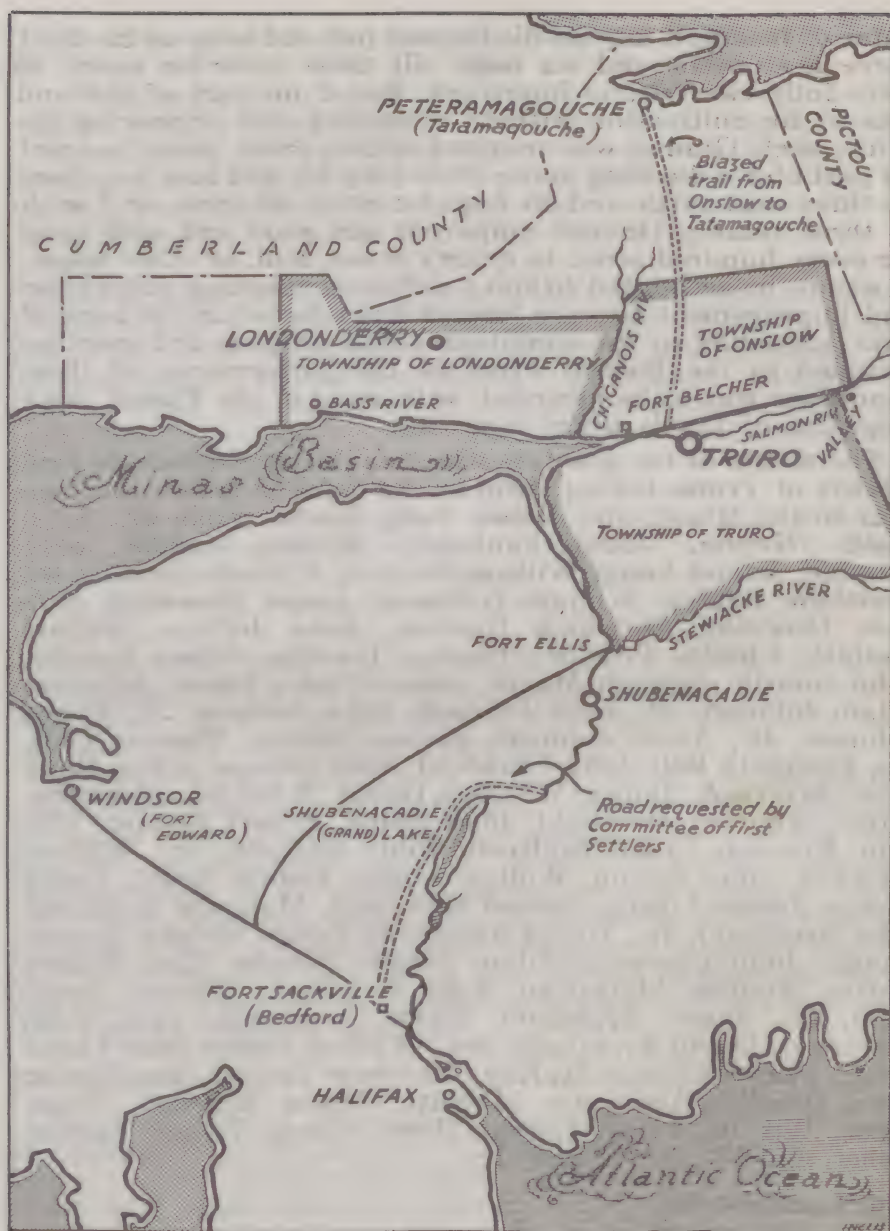
The Truro Grant was signed by Governor Montague Wilmot pursuant to His Majesty's instructions of May 20, 1763. It conveys all manner of rights, royalties, privileges, franchises and appurtenances, without any exceptions or reservations. The quit rent was one shilling sterling for every 50 acres, payable after 10 years, and so to continue payable yearly afterwards. As the collection of this rent has ceased since 1772, none became due or payable under the Grant. The grantees numbered 82, each of whom was required within three years to clear and work three acres for every 50, drain

three of marsh, if any on his lot, and put and keep on his land three neat cattle and six hogs, till three acres for every 50 were fully cleared and improved. But if no part of the land was fit for cultivation without manuring and improving the same, each Grantee was required within three years to erect on part of it a dwelling house 20 feet by 16, and also put there on three neat cattle and six hogs for every 50 acres, or if with in three years a Grantee employed one good and able hand for every hundred acres, to quarry stone, coal, or other mines, it was to be accounted to him a sufficient planting cultivation and improvement to save forever from forfeiture 50 acres of land, according to the conditions about grounds and marshes included in the Patent. Proof of the performance of these conditions was to be recorded, with copy of the Patent, with Registrar of Deeds where lands lay.

The names of the grantees who may be considered the first settlers of Truro, taking them in the order in which they appear in the Grant, are: James Yuill, James Yuill, Jr., Alexander Nelson, James Faulkner, Andrew Gamble, John Gamble, Jennet Long, William Corbitt, William Corbitt, Jr., Matthew Fowler, William Gillmore, James Downing, William Downing, Hezekiah Egerton, John Jeffrys, William Nesbitt, Charles Proctor, Thomas Gourlie, James Gourlie, John Gourlie, Samson Moore, James Moore, James Johnson, Adam Johnson, Jr., John Johnson, John Johnson, Jr., James Johnson, Jr., Adam Johnson, James Dunlap, Thomas Dunlap, Elizabeth Bell, John Crawford, John Savage, Adam Boyd John Morrison, James Whidden, David Whidden, Alexander Miller, Thomas Archibald, John Rains, Robert Hunter, William Kennedy, John McKeen, John McKeen, Jr., William McKeen, John Fulton, William Logan, George Scott, David Dickie, Jennet Logan, Samuel Archibald, Matthew Archibald John Archibald, Jr., David Archibald, James Wright, Joseph Moore, John Caldwell, Adam Dickie, Charles Cox, Robert Dickie, Andrew McGowan, John Headlock, Thomas Archibald, Jr., James Archibald, David Archibald, 2nd., John Archibald, David Archibald, 3rd., William Fisher, John Fisher James Fisher, Charles McKay, Matthew Taylor, John Taylor John Hinglin, Alexander McNutt, Moses Blaisdell, Hugh Moor, William Moor, George Hows, David Fisher, Samuel Fisher, and William Fisher, Jr.

Old Landmarks

A number of the descendants of these pioneer settlers reside today on the original grants of their forbears. Amos S. Johnson, for example, resides in a home at Lower Truro, which was built in 1795 over a cellar of a former Acadian home which was destroyed during the 1755 Expulsion. This is believed to



LOCATION OF THE TOWNSHIPS—Map above shows the approximate areas covered by the three Cobequid townships after Writs of Partitions had been granted Onslow and Truro in 1783 and Londonderry in 1794.

The boundaries for Truro and Onslow after the Paritition were much the same as those of the original grants, but the boundaries of the Londonderry grant were altered considerably. The original Londonderry grant included a triangular strip adjoining a rectangular strip which extended as far West as Economy Point. Presumably the rectangular strip was the grant made to James Fulton and others. The original grant, which is not shown on above map, did not include the village of Londonderry or Acadia Mines.

be the oldest house in the County, and the stonework of the basement and hand-hewn beams and timbers of the house are curios. This property is part of the original grant to John Johnson, great-great grandfather of Amos Johnson.

The late John W. Logan, 165 Queen Street, resided on a part of land which was the original grant of his great-great-grandmother Jennet (Janet) Logan.

W. A. Flemming's house on Queen Street is on part of the grant to his great-great-great grandfather George Scott. Mr. Flemming's great-great grandfather William Flemming married George Scott's daughter and they built a home of the Scott grant. Incidentally, the latter William Flemming's father, James Flemming, had settled in what was termed "the Folly" section of Londonderry, or Glenholme. Miller says "The Folly" took its name from the old saying that it was folly for Mr. Flemming to settle on so poor a place.

The boundaries of the township of Onslow, as described in the Grant issued Feb. 21, 1769, were as follows:

"Beginning at the Northwestern bound of the township of Truro at the head of Cobequid Bay, thence to run East by the compass six miles on the said township of Truro and ungranted lands, thence North seven miles and a half, thence West 11 miles and 24 chains (of four rods each) or until it meets the Eastern boundary of the township of Londonderry, thence to be bounded Westerly on said township and the River Chegonois (sic) down to the confluence of it with the Cobequid Bay, to the bound first mentioned. Containing in the whole by estimation 50,000 acres, more or less."

The names of the first settlers in the order they appear in the township grant are: Richard Upham, William Hamilton, Anthony Elliot, Thomas Stephens, James Lyon, John Steel, James Wilson, Frances Blair, Jonathan Higgins, Joseph Scott, John Carter, William Tackles, Hugh Tackles, Jacob Stephens, William McNutt, the heirs of Jacob Lines, Nath-

aniel Gallop, Edward Brooks, David Hoar, Martin Brooks, William Blair, Ephriam Howard, Joshua Lamb, David Gay, David Blackmore, Abner Brooks, Carpenter Bradford, George Howard, Ephriam Scott, John Polly, Samuel Nichols, Peter Richardson, Ephriam Howard, Jr., Robert Crowell, Abijah Scott, David Cutting, Isaac Ferrell, Daniel Knowlton and Mary Knowlton, Elizabeth Blackmore, Abigail Upham, Caleb Putnam, Nathan Upham, Richard Upham, Jr., Nicholas Blanchard, James Tackles, John Cutting, Solomon Hoar, William Blair, Jr., William Whippy, Peter Wilson, James Brown, the heirs of Samuel Whippy, the heirs of Joel Camp, the heirs of Benjamin Brooks, Asa Scott, Francis Harris, John Barnhill, Samuel Bencraft, John Hewett, John Polly, Jr., Reuben Richardson, William Crowell, Jonathan Higgins, Jr., Mercy Brooks, Hugh Acton Tackles, Christopher Stevens, Jacob Stevens, Jr., Abner McNutt, Jacob Lines, Jr., Silvanus Brooks, Edward Brooks, Jr., Ebenezer Hoar, John Blair, and Deborah Wright.

For reasons explained later, the grant was withheld for about eight years, during which period a number of the first settlers died, and their Rights went to their heirs, widows, or daughters, whose names are included in the list of grantees.

Haliburton writes:

"It appears from the manuscript of the late Col. Alexander McNutt, which are still extant, that the settlers encountered great difficulty in procuring their grant, and that it was not only different from what they had been led to expect, but also more restrictive in its terms than that of the township of Truro.

"The Onslow patent reserves to the Crown 'all mines of gold, silver, lead, copper, and coal' and also '1,000 acres for the use of a church, a school and glebe.' It also differed from the Truro grant in the matter in which the quit rent was received 'being one farthing per acre in three years, 'and in default of payment the grant was declared to be null and void. It was also subject to forfeiture if not registered and docketed at the Registrar's office within six months."

The grant was issued by Governor William Campbell on Feb. 23, 1769.

Grantees of the township of Londonderry as per Grant registered Feb. 10, 1775 were: Robert Archibald, John Mahon, Samuel Archibald, William Martin, Thomas Baird, Anthony McLane, John Barnhill, Samuel McLane, heirs of Robert Barnhill, John McClellan, Richard Bartlet, Joseph McClellan, Robert Calderwood, Peter McClellan, John Clarke, Robert McClellan, James Cook, William McClentag, heirs of Wil-

liam Cook, Elizabeth McCully, William Davison, William McCully, John Denny, Alexander McCurdy, Robert Dill, William McKim, Robert Faulkner, Jasper McKinley, William Fisher, George McNutt, Thomas Flager, James McNutt, William Flager, heirs of Rev. John Moorehead, Robert Forbes, John Morrison, William Forbes, William Nesbitt, James Fulton, William Nicholson, Samuel Fulton, John Palmer, Thomas Fulton, Joseph Prow, David Graham, John Reagh, John Huit, Francis Reed, David Hunter, John Rogers, Archibald Karr, Rev. David Smith, William Long, William Sutherland, James Lyons, Robert Spencer, John Storey, Archibald Thompson, John Vance, John Wilks, Ezekiel Williams, John Williams, Claud Wilson, James Wilson, Samuel Wilson, Thomas Wilson, heirs of William Wilson.

The boundaries of the township as described in the grant were as follows:

“Beginning at the mouth of the River Chiganois and to run up the course of said river as far as the marsh goes, being about three miles and a half more or less, in a right line, thence North by the magnet six miles, thence South 84 degrees West 12 miles and three-quarters of a mile, thence North by the magnet six miles, thence North 84 degrees West 12 miles and three-quarters of a mile, thence South six miles more or less still it comes to Cobequid Bay, thence to be bounded Southerly by the several courses of the Bay to the mouth of the Chiganois river aforesaid. Containing in the whole of said tract by estimation 53,000 acres, more or less.”

These boundaries, when plotted on a map, provide two sections of land: one a triangular section, bounded on the East by a line running North to about Cottam Settlement, and on the North by a line running from that point to just North of Highland Village, with the Bay as the third side of the triangle; the second a rectangular section six miles wide covering the area West of Highland Village to Economy Point.

Londonderry Not Included

The reader should bear in mind that the settlement of the township of Londonderry was for the most part on those lands near the Bay Shore—Masstown, Glenholme, Great Village, Portaupique, and Bass River. The present community of Londonderry, or Acadia Mines, was not included in the area described in the grant of 1775. Presumably settlement of that community did not commence until iron ore was discovered there in 1847.

The Rev. David Smith, the first Presbyterian minister of Londonderry, and in fact the first resident Presbyterian minister in Canada, resided at what is now Lower Debert.

The boundaries of the township of Londonderry after the Partition, as referred to previously, assumed a more regular rectangular pattern as shown on accompanying map—an area of land roughly 10 miles wide and 34 miles long lying North of Cobequid Bay and stretching Westerly from the Chiganois River to a short distance West of Little Bass River, and including what is now the village of Londonderry.

Joshua Lamb was the first Registrar of Deeds, taking office in 1770. The first deed was recorded March 2, 1770: "Robert Forbes to Robert Bartlett and Peter McClellan, Feb. 26, 1770."

It was not until after 1817 that the remaining parts were added to make up the County of Colchester as we know it today. The area North of the boundaries of the township of Onslow was an unbroken forest until that time, when Alexander Miller made the first survey in what is now called Earltown. He continued to survey a large part of the Crown land of Colchester and Pictou which was not included in the townships of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry. Afterwards he fixed boundary lines for townships and gave them names; that part lying between the East line of Truro, and the present County line between Pictou and Colchester he called Greenfield; that part lying between Pictou County line and Onslow he called Kemptown, in honor of Sir James Kempt, who was Lieutenant Governor, from 1820 to 1828. That part which lies North of Kemptown, and North of the East end of Onslow, he called Earltown, for the Earl of Dalhousie, whom Sir James succeeded.

The section of land West of the old boundary of the township of Londonderry, which is now included in the County of Colchester, was originally a part of the county of King's. This section, the district of Five Islands was included in the County of Colchester in 1840.

In 1813, 3,000 acres of land on each side of the road leading from Truro to Tatamagouche had been laid out and granted, and soon after, the sons of Robert Cock and John McKeen commenced to clear and make themselves farms at the same place that some of their descendants now reside on Tatamagouche Mountain. About the year 1817 and 1818 there were others who had arrived from Scotland and commenced making a settlement West of this area, which became known as New Annan.

Chapter 12

THE ACADIAN PROBLEM

The Acadian problem in Nova Scotia became acute again in 1762, and although there were few Acadians in the Cobequid district, they were affected by the Acadian threat to the security of the province. The male settlers were subject to call-up for militia service and this meant that they were required to leave their farms and go to Fort Edward or Halifax for military duty, thus leaving their farms unattended at a time when production of food was necessary for existence.

In 1762 Britain was still engaged in the Seven Years War against France, but even though America was in British hands the presence of the Acadians in the province posed a threat to the security of the settlers.

Early in April the Assembly asked the Council to join them in a petition to the Governor to prevent the "French prisoners" in the province "from carrying guns, or going at large about the country."

(As explained earlier, even though the Acadians were technically prisoners-of-war, the policy of the Government appears to have been one of peaceful co-existence as far as they were concerned, the hope presumably being that if left alone the Acadians would eventually decide to take the Oath of Allegiance and become citizens of the province. It is supposed that they were permitted to have guns for hunting game for their existence.)

The Governor readily acceded to the petition, and, within a few months, he even advocated the removal of the troublesome Acadians. His decision was no doubt influenced by the fact that scores of new settlers were fleeing the province.

No sooner had Belcher reached his decision than news came of enemy ships off Newfoundland and the capture of St. John's. Rumors spread that Quebec had been recaptured as well.

With the news of St. John's capture, coupled with rumors, fear of an Acadian uprising in Nova Scotia reached a fever pitch.

By a resolution of the Assembly in July, the Acadians were put under guard and not permitted to use boats or go abroad without passports. Martial law was declared in the province and Acadians "who were at work for the inhabitants" in various parts of the province were ordered to be brought to Halifax. Acadians on the South Shore and in the Annapolis Valley areas were rounded up and marched to Halifax under military guard.

When Spain joined France in the war against Britain, the Council at Halifax, late in July, decided to expel the Acadians from the province.

Cobequid People Isolated

During all this anxiety the settlers at Truro, Onslow and Londonderry were more or less isolated from military aid from Halifax because of the lack of a highway to the Capital.

It will be recalled that during the Summer of 1760 an application had been made by the committees representing the intending settlers at Truro and Onslow for a road from Fort Sackville to the Shubenacadie River, providing that the Government would give them some assistance. The request was considered and agreed to, provisions being supplied, however, only for the time the people were actually at work upon the road.

During the Summer of this year some anxiety was caused by the unruly and defiant attitude of those Acadians who had settled around the Bay of Chaleur and who threatened to plunder the new settlements around Cobequid Bay. With no means of transporting troops and supplies to defend the settlers, except by a long voyage around the coast and up the Bay of Fundy, the threat was a serious one and plans were made for the immediate opening of a road between Halifax and the townships of Onslow, Truro, and from thence to Fort Cumberland as the most effectual means for the security of these settlements. Consequently an application was made to Colonel Forster, officer commanding troops in the province, for a detachment of 25 men for the purpose.

By the Summer of 1762 the road had been made passable for soldiers and Colonel Roderick MacKenzie made an overland march "from Fort Cumberland to Halifax with the Troops" in August that year.

Presumably because of the threat of the Acadians in the Bay of Chaleur area, Colonel MacKenzie, who was stationed at Fort Cumberland, had late in 1761 with 50 men and two ships, dispersed a body of 787 Acadians at Restigouche, capturing 335 of them. The others promised to surrender themselves. It is presumed that the purpose of Colonel MacKenzie's overland march to Halifax was to take his Acadian prisoners to that City as part of the general round-up. In a later chapter the route of this road will be described.

No further work appears to have been put on this road for several years, and it is supposed that the Cobequid settlers were too busy trying to eke out a bare existence to devote much time to the road from Fort Sackville to the Shubenacadie River.

In mid-August 1762 the second Expulsion of the Acadians was begun from Halifax harbour on five transports bound for Boston, the Acadians to be distributed throughout Massachusetts. But this expedition was a dismal failure. Before a month had passed the Acadians were back in Halifax, for the General Assembly of Massachusetts had "absolutely refused" to even make a temporary settlement.

For two more years the Government had no choice but to continue its policy of peaceful co-existence as far as the Acadians were concerned. The Acadians, now realizing that their hopes of France ever regaining possession of Nova Scotia were now shattered, secretly petitioned influential men in France to arrange their repatriation to France. When they received no encouragement in this proposal from France, they petitioned the Nova Scotia Council to remove them to France. But as the war was now over the Board of Trade considered it was "neither necessary nor politic to remove them." Besides "they might make usefull settlers".

It was evidently with this latter thought in mind that the Board secured the King's permission to allow the Acadians to settle in Nova Scotia with the result that Lord Halifax in 1764 sent out a plan for Acadian settlement in the Province. If the Acadians would take the unqualified Oath, it was agreed they might become settlers. Each Acadian was to be given 50 acres with 10 acres more for every member of his family. The Cobequid district was not included in this plan of settlement. The offer on paper sounded well, but the land proposed for the Acadians was poor land in back country.

Leave the Province

However, they still refused to take the Oath and 600 of them left the province in November 1764 for the French West Indies at their own expense, after having tried again unsuccessfully to get some assistance from King Louis by sending a delegation to France for the purpose.

A second group planned to go to the French West Indies the following Spring, but reports of great mortality among their brethren who had left in 1764 evidently deterred them. Presumably some compromise plan was worked out which enabled the Acadians to get possession of land, but there are no indications that the Acadians ever agreed to take the oath.

As early as 1710 the Acadians had sent deputies to treat with their new masters who, appreciating the need for someone to receive and attend to the execution of their orders, proceeded to regularize their election and functions. Collectively the deputies became the local government of the Acadian population, and at the same time buffers between them and the English.

The departure of the Acadians had a good effect on the Indian situation in the province, even though it became necessary for the Nova Scotia Government to keep them supplied with presents as the French had done. The nomadic life of the redmen did not make for their material prosperity, and more often than not, they faced the prospect of starvation—from which they were saved only by provisions from the Government or stealing from the settlers.

In the Spring of 1763, for example, some Indians stole an ox from James Falkener, of Truro. On being discovered they excused themselves on the grounds of utter destitution. They had also taken two firelocks from the home of the same settler. The Council, on the receipt of Falkener's complaint, ordered compensation for his losses and gave instructions where by the Indians were to be reprimanded by Colonel Denson and Colonel Deschamps.

Chapter 13

AID FOR THE SETTLERS

Lieutenant Governor Belcher supplies the very interesting fact that in 1760 many of the inhabitants of Minas and Pisiquid were "rich and in good circumstances—about 100 have transported themselves and their effects at their own expense and are well able to support themselves."

In the Cobequid townships, prosperity, on the other hand, was an unknown quantity. Although the inhabitants of this district had not been promised any government aid, they required and received more than possibly any other settlements in the province. "In Onslow and Truro," writes Martell, "it can be said without contradiction, that hardly without exception the settlers were of the poorer non-commoner class."

The new settlements were still dependent on the Government for provisions during the second year. In the Spring of 1762, Lieutenant Governor Belcher, in a message to the Assembly, recommended aid for "the present distressing indigent circumstances of the inhabitants of several new townships, particularly those of Onslow, Truro, and Yarmouth."

The House declared that assistance was impossible, by reason of "the great load of debt due by the public", but suggested that, if any of the old duty money remained in the Treasury, it should be used for "this charitable purpose." In spite of the Council's opposition, the combination of the Governor and the Assembly resulted in the balance of the old Duty Fund (£350, 2s, 8d) being applied "to the help and assistance of such persons in the new settlements as stand most in need of supplied."

The actual details of the relief work are extant in the Governor's instructions to Richard Upham, of Onslow:

"You are to acquaint the inhabitants of Truro and Onslow that the corn to be delivered to them is to be paid for at the rate of 3/8 (three shillings and eight pence) per bushel, being the cost of said corn, whenever the Government shall demand the same. To deliver the corn to those only in real want, and where he suspects those who demand, have stock, to swear them. To be frugal as possible in the distribution, not to deliver more than one month at a time, allowing not more than one bushel per month to one person over 10 years, one bushel for two children under 10 years. Those who have a stock of their own by no means to be supplied.

"To keep a book of supplies, taking receipts from the head of the family, to whom supply is given, of quantity, which is to be delivered to the Secretary of the Province that it may be accounted for.

"To consult with the committee of both towns that you may be better informed of these necessities, as quantity of seed wheat and barley will be shipped for the use of the towns. To deliver it to those only who have lands fit for its reception."

The order for corn was on Isaac Deschamps—(corn meaning wheat, barley, etc., as distinguished from maize, or "Indian corn)—who was to send 1,000 bushels to the Cobequid district.

The aid was timely, but it only prevented starvation—there was no abundance.

Drought And Insects

The Summer months of 1762 only added to the misery and poverty of the settlers. The crops had to be neglected, when the farmers were called away on military duty. And although after their period of service, they were industriously employed in their farming and other improvements, nature was at odds with them. In the Spring a drought had settled on the peninsula, and in consequence, swarms of grasshoppers and other insects ravaged their fields.

The situation in Onslow and Truro was definitely worse than in the Kings County settlements. During the Winter of 1762-63 several families nearly died of starvation. It is tradition that one Joel Camp ate the end of a tallow candle for his last meal on earth—"the heirs of Joel Camp" appears on the Onslow township grant of a few years later.

Confusion in the distribution of provisions augmented the poverty of the Cobequid district. Truro demanded and received more than its proportionate share of flour, and only through the Governor's interception did Onslow receive its just balance of flour or grain. The fact that all the provisions for Cobequid did not arrive at the beginning of the Winter was the root cause of all the trouble. When the Government heard of this, Deschamps was ordered to rush the flour remaining at Newport to the Onslow and Truro settlers.

The settlers' demands for provisions continued throughout the Winter and into the Spring of 1763. The needy ones were far from humble in approaching the authorities. Like many of the modern unemployed they probably felt that "the world owes me a living" and they were going to get it.

Belcher wrote that their petitions were made "with a faulty degree of clamour and threatening the Government . . . with a view of disturbing the peace and good order of the Province,

and of abusing the munificence of Parliament." Finally, in order "to prevent a settled habit of sloth in reliance upon the public bounty," the Lieutenant Governor notified the townships that the funds for provisions were exhausted and their future applications would be of no avail.

This declaration left no doubts. From the Spring of 1763 onwards, the settlers could rely on their own industry and trust in Providence for good crops, as far as the Government was concerned.

Need Still Great

After this date, no mention has been found of provisions being actually voted for the townships. But although no further aid seems to have been provided, the need was still great and the report of Charles Morris and Richard Bulkeley of 1763 recommended that in the Spring of 1764, 1,000 bushels of Indian corn and 600 bushels of seed corn be sent to Kings County and 500 bushels of Indian corn and 100 bushels of seed corn be delivered at Cobequid.

There is no record of such provisions having been distributed, but a month or so after the report was presented, the Assembly passed an Act "to enable Proprietors of the several townships in this Province to maintain their poor." This Act received the assent of the Lieutenant Governor and became law almost immediately. Henceforth the townships could assess themselves for poor relief. The burden had passed from provincial to municipal responsibility.

In 1763 the Annapolis Valley townships were in a much better economic condition than the Cobequid townships. Large quantities of marshland, cleared and enclosed, were ready for cultivation by the autumn of 1763. Only the seed corn was needed for the next Spring's sowing.

The Cobequid district had none of the prosperity of the Annapolis Valley communities. Few facts concerning Onslow and Truro are extant for the year 1763. At Onslow, according to Morris and Bulkeley, there were about 50 families, which they described as "the most indigent as well as the most indolent people of the colony."

As the Winter of 1763-64 approached, the danger of the Onslow population starving or leaving the Province was so great that the Morris-Bulkeley report advocated immediate relief. The number of their stock was meagre compared with the other settlements. Very few people of any substance were settled among them, the report stated.

A striking contrast is found in the neighboring township of Truro, where 60 families, Irish Protestants from New Hampshire, were established. They were an industrious people,

stated the report. Although only two years had passed since the first settlement, they were expecting to raise enough grain for their own support, a few families excepted, with the 1763 harvest. They owned large quantities of livestock.

The little settlement of Irish immigrants on the North shore of Cobequid Bay (Londonderry) was not overlooked by Morris and Bulkeley. None of them had received any grants of land, but they were industrious and doing well, considering the fact that they had neither money nor stock. These Old Country Irish were in need of only a little assistance from the Government. By the end of 1763, however, there were encouraging reports of economic progress throughout the entire Cobequid district.

The report of the Census for the year 1766 showed the following:

TRURO

Population 301 (92 men, 80 women, 69 boys, 60 girls); nationality Irish; religion 301 Protestants.

Stock, Etc.: 37 horses, 67 oxen and bulls, 210 cows, 308 young neat cattle, 418 sheep, 210 swine.

Produce: (Bushels) - 1,204 wheat; 369 rye; 158 pease; 618 barley; 1,474 oats, 4 hemp seed; 125 flax seed; (Hundreds) - 27 flax. Mills: 1 grist mill, 3 hemp mills.

Ships: 1 schooner or sloop.

No alteration in population since 1765.

ONSLow

Population: 245 (89 men, 63 women, 47 boys, 46 girls); nationality: 137 American, 100 Irish, 4 English, 4 Scotch; religion: 245 Protestants.

Stock, Etc.: 18 horses, 36 oxen and bulls, 138 cows, 150 young neat cattle, 210 sheep, 138 swine.

Produce (Bushels) - 714 wheat, 189 rye, 236 pease, 670 barley, 758 oats, 2 hemp seed, 156 flax seed; (Hundreds) - 30 flax. Mills: 1 grist mill, one saw mill.

No alteration in population since 1765.

LONDONDERRY

Population: 148 (41 men, 44 women, 31 boys, 32 girls); nationality: 130 Irish, 10 Americans, 4 English, 4 Scotch; religion: 148 Protestants.

Stock, Etc.: 29 horses, 25 oxen, and bulls, 79 cows, 120 young neat cattle, 138 sheep, 75 swine.

Produce (Bushels) - 497 wheat, 12 rye, 104 pease, 191 barley, 299 oats, 48 flax seed.

Changes since 1765: Arrived - 50.

An excellent harvest in 1766 was the beginning of an era of comparative prosperity, and in November that year a General Thanksgiving was celebrated "on account of the late plentiful and abundant harvest in this Province." Surplus wheat, root crops and livestock were taken by water to Boston. The only governmental revenue collected in the Province at this time came from the duties on rum and "other articles of luxury."

Mention was made in a previous chapter that the Board of Trade was anxious to keep a tight rein on manufacturing in the colonies to prevent competition with goods made in England, and in 1766 Lieutenant Governor Francklin was asked by the Imperial authorities to transmit "an exact and particular account of the manufacturing set up in Nova Scotia since 1734."

In his report Francklin reiterated the opinion of the Council and Assembly:

"... there are no manufactures of any sort carried on unless the distilling of Melasses (sic) into Rum and making of loaf sugar be deemed as such—I have therefore enclosed the state of those manufactures as also that of the Hatter's business, which latter being insignificant, I should not have mentioned but that I would not omitted (sic) any kind of manufactures. . . The Country people in general work up for their own use into stockings and a stuff called by them Homespun what little wool their few sheep produce and they also make part of their course (sic) Linnen (sic) from the flax they produce . . .

"The townships of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry, consisting in the whole of 694 men, women and children, composed chiefly of people from the North of Ireland, make all their Linnen (sic) and even some little to spare to the neighboring towns —this year they raised 7,524 pounds of Flax —which will probably be worked up in their several families during this Winter but I apprehend these very people who have been bred in this way will make less Linnen when they get into better circumstances which will be very soon; but having few cattle and not much grain they have not imployment (sic) in the Winter season. Indigency obliges them to make use of every means to enable them to subsist their numerous families but when their stocks are encreased (sic) and they can raise a sufficiency of bread for themselves they will find it more in their interest to raise hemp and flax for exportation as from several Essays (sic) already made in different parts of the Country. The soil is well adapted for raising these Articles the breaking and preparing of

which for market will employ all their leisure during the Winter . . .”

In 1768 Francklin made a report in which he declared that only the distilleries in Nova Scotia received public encouragement and continued:

“I find there are several persons who have Tan Pitts (sic) in many of the country towns to dress for their own use the hides of such cattle as they kill or which meet with accidents, but as those people are also farmers and work occasionally only at the Tanning business, I conceived it would be improper to place them in the inclosed (sic) state (of manufactures) . . . the country people in general work up for their own use all the Wool of their sheep in stockings, gloves, and coarse cloth called Home-spun . . . many families in most of the country towns make part of the linen they use, and the townships of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry, consisting of about 800 inhabitants . . . make all the linen they want for their families, and even sell to this (Halifax) and neighboring towns to the amount of 200 pounds annually.”

Chapter 14

EARLY TRAVEL CONDITIONS

According to Thomas Miller "all travelling was done by men, women and children on foot or on horseback for more then 50 years after the settlement of Colchester. It was quite customary in those days for people to ride horseback 10 to 12 miles to attend public worship or to walk five or six miles for the same purpose, and carry bodies of their dead on biers, by four men at a time, a distance of three miles to the place of burial . . ."

Actually it was not until 1809 that the first four-wheeled carriage passed through Truro when Lieutenant Governor Sir George Prevost visited here.

Miller tells about Thomas Dunlap paying a visit to the United States and returning home about the year 1814, and building "a large truck waggon, the first that was built in Truro. It was first driven to Halifax, with a team of five horses by Barnabas McQueen who lived in the Lower Village of Truro."

Prior to the arrival of the settlers at Cobequid the Acadians had used the water highways of the Indians; the Shubenacadie River from Dartmouth to the Bay of Fundy; the Chiganois River and French River as the water highway from the Bay to what are now Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Island.

During the Summer of 1760, it will be recalled, an application had been made by the committees of the townships of Truro and Onslow proposing to open communication with Halifax by cutting a road from Fort Sackville, near what is now Bedford, to the Shubenacadie River at the head of what is now Grand Lake. The request was considered and agreed to, provisions being supplied, however, only for the time the people were actually at work upon the road.

In the Winter of the next year, in reviewing the progress of the new settlements at Cobequid, the Council at Halifax was of the opinion that "it would be of great advantage to those settlements to have a road cut between Halifax and the River Chebenacadie", while in April, the committee appointed to confer with Charles Morris, the Province's Chief Surveyor, on the opening of a road from Fort Sackville to the Shubenacadie River declared "it would be proper to open said road as soon as possible."

Military Road Opened

Presumably because the settlers at Cobequid were too busy repairing dykes, clearing land, and trying to eke out an ex-

istence, little or no work was done on the proposed road. However, in 1762, when there was fear of an Acadian uprising, a military road was opened to provide communication between Fort Sackville, the Cobequid townships, and Fort Cumberland.

A map of a survey of Nova Scotia taken in 1766 by Captain Montresor, a Royal engineer, and now in the Public Archives at Halifax, shows a road leading from Princeport easterly and around Truro and Onslow, paralleling the present highway from Truro to Five Islands, but some distance further inland (for convenience in fording rivers). This road turned North at Five Islands following the route of the present Lynn Road and ran up through Maccan to Fort Cumberland. Traces of this old road are still to be found, and it is supposed that this was the military road opened in 1762.

On Montresor's map there is no road shown from Truro to Halifax. Presumably travel was made from Princeport to Grand Lake by the Shubenacadie River. From the head of the Lake a trail is shown on the map running West of the Lake to Fort Sackville.

There was also a trail running from what is now Maitland along the shore to beyond Noel and thence South to the Kennebec river from which point travellers went by the river to Fort Edward and Pisiquid.

Fort Belcher was situated at a place where, at low tide, the Bay could be easily forded in those days. Actually as late as 40 years ago this fording place was used by Clifton residents in horse-drawn carriages. A map dated 1761, prepared by Charles Morris, has a plan for a road extending South from Fort Belcher, through Old Barns to a point near what is now Alton, thence Southwesterly to Fort Ellis, where the Shubenacadie River was forded, and the road was to continue well North of Grand Lake until it joined the Fort Edward-Fort Sackville road somewhere in the present area of Middle Sackville. This latter road was laid out, but the section from Fort Ellis to Old Barns was not. Apparently the Shubenacadie River from Fort Ellis to Princeport continued as the "highway" link.

There was at that time a blazed trail from Onslow, across the mountain, to Pateramagouche (Tatamagouche).

Lack Of Funds

No further work seems to have been put on a road linking Halifax and Cobequid for several years. In 1766 Michael Franklin advised that a main road be carried from Halifax by way of Cobequid thence to branch off to Cumberland, but it was impossible through lack of funds to carry this project into effect.

Up until 1776 the inhabitants of Cumberland and Cobequid depended upon travel by water to and from Boston and other New England ports for supplies, rather than Halifax, as their friends and relatives were in New England and there was a considerable amount of trade carried on between the two regions. After the American Revolution the Cobequid and Cumberland settlers were cut off from this source of supply and need of a road to Halifax was imperative.

In 1772 taxes were levied for highway purposes—two shillings and six pence for up to 500 acres, and six pence for each additional 100 acres, to a maximum of 50 shillings. This tax was imposed when it was found that revenues from licenses on public houses was not enough to provide money for roads.

In the year 1778, although £250 was granted by the Assembly to build bridges over the River Stewiacke "and other small rivers on the road leading to Truro" the actment regulating carriers and wagons employed on the roads, which was passed in the next year, extended only "to the bridge over the River Chebenacadie", the road beyond presumably being impassable for wheeled carriages.

In 1784 John Archibald was paid £125 for "making and repairing the road leading from Halifax to Truro" and in the next year the Assembly granted £500 for the road "from the Windsor road to the bounds of the Truro township". (This supposedly meant from Bedford to Stewiacke).

During the year 1790 a petition was received from the freeholders of Cobequid showing that they suffered great inconvenience "from the bad state of the main road" leading from that district to the town of Halifax, and asking for aid but not until 1794 was a grant of money made and £100 allotted for the road "from McNabb's Bridge to Gay's River", while in the next year, £500 was set aside for this same section of the road.

Two Blazed Tracks

Longworth tells us that "in the year 1792 the Truro people, in conjunction with the settlers of Brookfield, experienced some annoyance in the location of that portion of the road from Halifax to Pictou, then opened and leading through both places. Previously there were two bridle paths, or blazed tracks through the woods, one leading from Lower Village (Lower Truro) past Brookfield, the other from Truro, now known as Young's Road (Young Street), meeting the first at a place called 'Tucker's Clearing' ". "Tucker's Clearing" was where Hilden now is. The road from the Lower Village to Hilden ran from Lower Truro along the West side of the



LACK OF A HIGHWAY to Halifax for many years after first settlement kept the settlers of the Cobequid townships in a state of isolation. There was a road from Windsor to Bedford and a connection with it to Fort Ellis. There was also a blazed trail from Bedford to the head of the Shubenacadie River. Travel from that point to Truro had to be made by boat in the Summer months. In Winter the settlers were cut off entirely from Halifax.

brook at McClures Mills and the remains of this road are still referred to as "the Old Halifax Road."

"One of these tracks was to be opened at public expense, and form part of the great Pictou Road," Longworth states, and goes on to say that "the Government left it to the Truro, Brookfield and Lower Village people to decide which should have the preference. The Lower Villagers, headed by Lieut. John Johnson, insisted on the establishment of the former line, while the Truro and Brookfield people were strongly in favor of the latter. It was finally decided by a bet of five gallons of rum, that a man of Truro would walk the road his people wanted in less time than the Lower Villagers could find anyone to walk the one of their choice, and that if the expectations of the Truro people were not realized, they lost the rum and the road.

The day for the walking match was named. Long John Archibald was chosen for the Truro route, and William Johnson for the Lower Village one. At the appointed time both started. The Lower Villagers had a horse concealed on the track for their man to ride upon, which he did the best part of the way, as fast as the state of the road admitted. The result was that Johnson reached the clearing and walked about 20 rods on Young's Road towards Truro, when he met Archibald. The Lower Village section of road was thereupon confirmed.

The manner in which it was obtained was kept a profound secret by the parties concerned for six or seven years, when it came out at a trial in Court. The late parson Waddell on being made acquainted with the circumstance in Brookfield, declared it 'the most scandalous transaction' he had ever heard of.

Thomas Miller tells us of residents of the Stewiacke Valley and Brookfield having to carry grain on their backs through the woods to mill at Truro. The alternate route was a perilous trip from Stewiacke by boat to Truro. Miller tells of one John Smith, who settled in Prince Edward Island, but "being destitute of public gospel ordinances, they started for Truro in the Summer of 1776, in order that they might hear the gospel and have their son John baptized, who was now two years old. They came by Pictou and travelled on foot from Pictou to Truro, lodging one night in the woods and carrying their son in their arms." They later returned to P.E.I. and then "Mr. Smith came over to Pictou with a part of their movables and hired Mr. Patterson's horse to assist in bringing them to Truro. One article was an anvil of about 200 cwt. This he brought on the horse's back . . . He returned again to the Island for his family, and came back to Truro by Tatamagouche,

the distance through the woods being much shorter this way than by Pictou."

Miller says that John Smith was a "whitesmith" (tin-smith) by trade and was given a grant of Right to Birch Island and adjoining swamp lands by the people of the Village who were anxious to have him as blacksmith in the Village. Smith's grant was a section of what is now known as Smith's Island, West Prince Street.

Unfit For Carriages

In the year 1784 the Rev. James MacGregor, in his first journey to Pictou, described the road as a path through the wilderness without sign of a habitation for miles, and for long distances nothing more than a blazed trail, while 12 years later, when he went to Halifax to claim his bride, the wedding party was able only to accompany the happy bride and groom as far as Sackville after the ceremony as beyond that the road was unfit for carriages and it was necessary for the bride to climb up behind her husband and continue the rest of the journey to Pictou on horseback holding on to him.

Crossing of rivers in those days was done by placing supplies on rafts or in small boats, with the men and horses and any cattle or oxen, being obliged to ford or swim the streams.

In the large road appropriation for 1799, £500 was voted for the road from "the Windsor Road (i.e. the present Bedford junction) to Gay's River" and £400 "for the road from Gay's River to Truro and the bridge over the River Stewiacke," the work being done under the direction of Thomas Pearson, John Archibald, and John Dixon although only £347, 15s seems to have been laid out under contract.

During the next two years, 1800 and 1801, the large sum of £1600 was spent to repair "the road from the Windsor road to Shubenacadie bridge and from thence to Hall's" and to repair "the Post Road to Truro."

With further sums voted during the ensuing year this road was thereby brought into a state of reasonable repair although it was difficult, on account of the lack of statute labor on this road, to keep it in repair, settlements being few and far between.

The course of the road was similar to the main road used today, although it branched off from the Windsor road near Upper Sackville through to about Waverley, then on to Stewiacke. At Stewiacke there were two branches, one following the main road used today through Brookfield and Truro, the other following down the Shubenacadie River, connecting with a ferry at Black Rock and then continuing on through Old Barns to Truro.

A local road used today from Green Oak, near Old Fort Ellis, through to Brookfield, was opened in 1816, it being a shorter route for travellers coming through from Hants County to Colchester.

Although in 1813 the old Cobequid Road was considered as one of the so-called "great" roads, a stage coach service was not established with Halifax until July 1816, by Ezra Witter, of Truro, the road having been brought to a reasonable state of repair by that date. Witter drove between Halifax and Truro, and Jacob Lynds from Truro to Pictou.

As mentioned before, the alternate to travel on foot or horse-back in the days of first settlement, was by water.

Among the first settlers of Truro were the four Archibald brothers James, Thomas, Samuel, and David, who came here from New Hampshire with their wives and families and three married sisters and families, in their own vessel in December, 1762. This vessel was presumably used as a means of transportation and for bringing in supplies from New England for many years.

Considerable Shipbuilding

There appears to have been considerable ship-building in Lower Truro in the early days of settlement. In the 1780's the Government offered bounties to encourage ship-building and records show that in 1787 Charles I. Ickson was given grants of £48, 14s, 4d and £53 for building the schooner "Charles" while David Whidden received a bounty of £31 for a vessel he built. In 1789 the government provided a bounty of seven shillings and six pence per ton for ships of 75 tons and over built during 1788.

Benjamin DeWolfe, of Truro received a bounty of £48, 16s for the brig "Sally" while Charles and Daniel Dickson, of Truro, received a bounty of £57, 7s, 6d for the brig "Amelia"

A number of by-laws of the town of Truro, still in force, are relative to ship-building.

Frequent reference has been made previously to the isolated position of the Cobequid townships because of lack of highways. In the days of first settlement, it was necessary for someone to journey to Halifax occasionally for supplies, and pick up any letters from friends or relatives in New England and Northern Ireland, which came to the Post Office at Halifax.

The first mail was not carried from Halifax to Pictou until 1801—some 70 years after first settlement. Alexander Stewart who operated an Inn at Mount Thom, carried the first mail on this route. He travelled on foot, carrying the mail in his

pockets or in a sack on his back, once a fortnight until about 1812.

A Mr. Niles or Noiles, of Cumberland, carried mail from Halifax to Amherst during the year 1813, once a week, which took him six days to perform. He did it himself, with the exception of one week, altogether on horseback. About this time, Ezra Witter, referred to previously, came to Bible Hill from the Western part of the province, and carried on a chaise building business. He drove the mail from Halifax to Cumberland for a few years beginning in 1815, using a horse-drawn chaise for the purpose. Michael Summers and others assisted him.

Richard Upham Marsters carried mail from Truro to Pictou during the year 1813, on horseback, while Eliakim Tupper performed this service the following year.

Jacob Lynds drove the mail from Truro to Pictou from 1815 until 1828, when there was a company formed to run a coach from Halifax to Pictou to carry mail and passengers. In 1842 Hiram Hyde purchased the horses and coaches of this company—the Eastern Stage Coach Company—and operated the line until the railway was used for mail and passengers; service from Halifax to Pictou starting in the Fall of 1866.

The first engine passed up the Salmon River on the new railroad (which had been extended to Truro in 1858) on August 21, 1866; it was engaged in ballasting the road.

Charles B. Archibald carried mail and passengers from Truro to Cumberland for more than 20 years, up to November, 1872, when the Intercolonial Railway was opened for traffic. William and Robert Watson drove from Truro to Cumberland for a number of years before Mr. Archibald commenced.

Chapter 15

UNREST IN THE TOWNSHIPS

There was considerable unrest in the Cobequid settlements during the first few years. In addition to the widespread terror of an uprising of Indians and Acadians, and a period of near starvation, there were grave complications over the ownership of land which resulted in a multiplicity of legal fights.

Besides this there was continual friction with the authorities at Halifax over control of municipal affairs.

Even though an elective Assembly had been called at Halifax in October, 1758 two years prior to the settlement at Cobequid, the Council continued to be the governing authority for many years. This Council was not only a Halifax body, but it was also the nucleus of a loosely-knit Church and State party which manifested a tender regard for the British Church and state policy. Thus it can be understood that the Presbyterian Cobequid settlers, used to conducting their own local affairs in New Hampshire, before coming to Nova Scotia, were somewhat averse to dictates from Halifax.

Furthermore for the first few years the Cobequid settlers were not represented in the Assembly—usually some member of the Council made an occasional trip to Cobequid to issue orders or carry back to the Council any memorials from the settlers. In August 1761, for example, Governor Belcher issued writs for the election of two members for Onslow, and two for Truro. Onslow returned William Neville Wolesley, of Halifax and David Cutten, of Onslow. Mr. Wolesley did good service in encouraging the Governor to use the old duty money to aid his constituents in the destitute Winter of 1761-62, which has already been referred to. The next year he went away to England and did not return. In 1765, an attorney-at-law, of Halifax, James Brenton, was returned for Onslow. At the same time, Charles Morris, Jr., son of the Province's Chief Surveyor, who was a member of the Council, was returned to represent Truro in the Assembly.

Whether or not an Act passed in 1765 had anything or not to do with it, is not clear, but Mr. Morris, being returned to represent King's County at the same time, accepted for King's, and Truro was not represented until 1766 when David Archibald took his seat on June 5. The Act referred to, limited the number of members in the Assembly as townships had become too numerous.

It was not until 1787 that members of the Assembly were paid, when they received eight shillings per day. Hence it can be understood that up to that time only a man with ample

means and plenty of time could negotiate the tedious journeys to Halifax to represent his community.

Cobequid was included in the County of Halifax in 1761.

In 1770 William Fisher was returned to represent Truro, Joshua Lamb for Onslow, and Captain John Morrison, having removed from Truro to Londonderry in 1769 took his seat in 1770 to represent Londonderry without opposition. In 1774 Joshua Lamb's seat was declared vacant for non-attendance and offering no apology; Miller says the reason being "on account of there being no pay for members at this time."

In 1777, after the American Revolution, he went to the new republic and became a citizen of that country.

Other Grievances

Besides the demand for incorporated townships, in which they could look after their own local affairs, the settlers requested grievances for other wrongs. They declared they were not even allowed to name and admit their own countrymen to their communities. Lieutenant Governor Belcher and his agent Isaac Deschamps permitted absentee ownership to the detriment of persons in possession of their lots. Some of their people, the petitioners asserted, were turned out of possession "without any process of law"—the very language of American Constitution makers years later. Imprisonments were arbitrarily made in the townships and the privileges of the law were denied to the prisoners.

In this respect, Col. Henry Denny Denson, vested with much power and authority by Governor Belcher, was accused of being a great offender. He acted as "informer, judge, and receiver in cases of excise." He ordered thieves to be dismissed from civil justice, under martial law, and declared they could never be brought to trial again. Although he was a principal magistrate he caused "great uneasiness" to the inhabitants by his immoral behavior—profane swearing, cursing, Sabbath-breaking, and other indiscretions—which, taken in all, was "a great discouragement to Religion and Piety" among them.

The complaining voices reached an even higher pitch when referring to the government's promise of military protection. At the time when an Acadian and Indian uprising threatened in 1762 they claimed men were called away in a most arbitrary manner and forced to march 50 miles away as militiamen or serve in garrisons at forts.

When MacKenzie had marched from Fort Cumberland to Halifax in 1762 he had requested horses from the settlers with which to transport baggage. When the settlers were found unwilling to provide the horses, Deschamps ordered the constables to commandeer them. It also appeared to the settlers

TRURO'S SECOND COURT HOUSE shown above, stood on the West side of Court Street, immediately North of what is now the offices section of Lewis, Limited premises. It was built in 1844 and was used until the present Court House on the corner of Church and Queen Streets was built around 1900. The above photo was taken in 1894 on the occasion of the visit of the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen to Truro. When the present Court House was built, the one shown above was purchased by M. E. Bates; one half was made into a house on Elm Street, the other into a house on Prince Street. (Photo by Lewis Rice, reproduced here through the courtesy of J. E. Sponagle).



that the main concern of the Government was the defense of Halifax alone, and it was for this reason that their townships were being stripped of men and materials. (It will be remembered that military protection had been offered the New Englanders under the terms of settlement).

Because of the forced absence of the menfolk, not only had the settlers been in mortal danger from the Indians, but their crops and hay had suffered greatly while the husbanders were away from their farms.

When strong political grievances were added to the above, the statement of the memorial that many valuable settlers, who had experienced both trouble and expense in coming to Nova Scotia, were returning to New England, can be readily believed.

An indication of the feeling of the people in Truro and Londonderry over their grievances can be imagined from a letter written by Lieutenant Governor Francklin to the Lords of Trade in August, 1766:

"The Government here has experienced more difficulty in keeping peace and good order in the two little towns of Truro and Londonderry, . . . than with all the other settlements in the whole Province, they being mostly composed of persons . . . who still retain so great a degree of republican principles that they make it a point to oppose on all occasions every measure of Government calculated to support the honour and authority of His Majesty's Crown and Dignity."

The New Englanders, of course, had a strong tradition of local self-government behind them. In New England the town organization came first, county and state organization afterwards, whereas in Nova Scotia the central government at Halifax attempted from the beginning to make decisions even on details for the most remote settlements. Naturally this system of government proved highly distasteful to the New Englanders who poured into Nova Scotia in a flood after 1760, the more so because they had been promised their customary privileges as an inducement to migrate. They desired, above all, recognition of the principle that the local functions of government should be administered by their own elected officials. But two attempts to have it introduced, one by the Assembly in 1758-59 and one by the Council in 1764 failed of assent. In only one respect did the Nova Scotia system provide the palest imitation of a New England town meeting. An act of 1763 authorized the freeholders in any township or district containing more than 50 families to meet once a year to grant moneys for poor relief and to appoint assessors and collectors to effect their decisions.

In still another matter the New Englanders were disappointed. The one provincial statute which permitted the proprietors to divide the lands which they held in common according to their usual custom was disallowed in England, and a subsequent proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor indicated that the Council at Halifax would "interfere actively in determining the personnel of the proprietary groups in the various townships." So instead of the freeholders apportioning the lands in town meetings, the provost marshal or his deputy undertook it by inquisition of a jury in the presence of two justices of the peace.

We have seen from an early chapter how an independent committee attempted to apportion the land in the township of Londonderry in 1766 and how the Council intervened and declared the proceedings of the committee unlawful and null and void.

On several occasions the New Englanders forcefully denounced these violations of their customary privileges, but none of the protests were effectual and the town meetings became little more than assemblies where the disaffected expressed their opposition to established authority.

Close To People

In the days of early settlement the Session of the Church held a much closer relationship to the lives of its members than is the case today. The Session acted as a Court to judge moral misdemeanors of its people and exact penalties. Margaret Janet Hart, in her book "Janet Fisher Archibald" tells of the Session of the Church in Londonderry, N. H. dealing with a case of trouble between a father and his son, and, although the charge was not proven, yet "the Session agreeth that James Doake shall be rebuked before them and be exhorted to respect and honour his parents in words and actions."

Reference is also made to a charge brought against James Moor for swearing. "Nor was this proven, but Moor was admonished to be more circumspect for the future. If the charge had been proven, he would have been required to make public confession before the congregation."

Justice was severe in those days compared with present-day standards, but appears to have been tempered with mercy.

As early as 1762 Justices of the Peace and Militia Officers were organized in the townships. David Archibald was the first Justice as well as the first Militia Officer in Truro.

Up to 1880 (the date when County municipalities were established) Justices of the Peace did all the County business, except what the Members of Parliament looked after. The Justices met once or twice each year in what was called the

"Court of Session". Their responsibility included appointments of Overseers of Highways, County Collectors, Constables, Hog Reeves, Pound Keeper, Fence Viewers, etc. Their presiding officer was "The Custos Rotulorum."

At the first settlement Cobequid had no jail for many years, excepting the cellar of David Archibald which was occasionally used for the purpose.

Longworth says that Archibald as a Magistrate "was impartial but extremely eccentric in his administration of justice. It was no uncommon thing for him to cane offenders with his own hands. Having found two boys belonging to the settlement stealing apples on a Sunday from his garden, he locked them up in his cellar. At their parents' request he set them at liberty, but on condition that the boys should be brought before him on Monday, when he tied them to one of the trees from which the apples had been taken, and caned them himself."

Miller records that "at one time a thief was brought before him (Archibald) for trial, and the sentence was 'that the thief should be tied to a cart and driven from the Hill (where Archibald lived) across the river, down around the Parade (now Victoria Square), and back up the Hill again; and that the driver should use the whip more freely on the thief than on the horse.'"

Imprisonment For Debt

Imprisonment for debt was very common in those days and Miller tells of an instance of a woman in 1806 who had died of consumption while her husband was in jail for debt. "Her corpse was taken into the Jail, that he might have the last sight of the remains of his beloved wife while they were on the way to the cemetery for burial."

The jail in 1806 was located on the West side of Court Street near Prince Street.

According to Miller the first Court of Sessions was held at Onslow about the year 1769 in the house of Samuel Nichols, which stood some 200 feet West of the present Church at Central Onslow. "At one time," says Miller, "the Grand Jury voted £15 to pay Mr. Nichols for the use of his house to hold Courts in, on condition that he would not sell any rum during the sitting of the Courts. The people of Pictou came to Onslow to attend Court up to the year 1790. Courts continued to be held in Onslow until 1800." Miller says "they had some kind of a log jail" at Onslow near the Court House.

A Court House was built on the North side of what is now College Road, about opposite Trueman House, about 1799. The Courts were held there but a short time. In 1803 this

building was hauled across town to the "Parade" and used until 1844. This explains why the street on the West side of Victoria Square is called Court Street.

In July 1802, the Court of Sessions decided to build a new Court House in Onslow "on the Common Lott. No. 24 on the green hill so called on the South side of the public road between the land of John Dickson and Company and the land of Joseph McCully," and voted "the sum of £600 be assessed on the District of Colchester for the purpose." But there is no indication that this Court house was built. Presumably it was decided later to move the Court house from College road to the Truro "Parade" to serve both townships.

The first Truro jail was built in 1803 near the Court house. There had been little use for a jail in Truro hitherto, but about this time, and for a number of years afterwards, imprisonment for debt was very common, as has been mentioned before.

S. G. W. Archibald was the first Judge of Probate and the first will recorded was that of Colin Douglas, July 23, 1802.

Chapter 16

BUILDING THEIR CHURCH

The first settlers allowed very few years to pass over their heads before they erected a house in which to worship God.

There was one Right of the Township of Truro granted for the first Presbyterian minister who would settle at Truro, one Right for a glebe, and another Right for the benefit of schools.

During the first years of settlement before their Church had been built, the people gathered for Divine service on Sundays in one of the settler's barns. They soon began to feel the loss to themselves and their children from the want of a Preached Gospel, and in 1763 petitioned the Presbytery of Glasgow, Scotland, for a minister, but this petition never reached its destination. On May 21, 1764, they sent their application to the Associate Synod of Scotland, and the next Summer the Rev. Samuel Kinlock was sent out to them. He remained in Truro, where he refused to accept a call from the people, three years, and then returned to Scotland.

At the earnest request of the people of Truro, the Rev. Daniel Cock came out from Greenock, Scotland, in the Fall of 1769. He was sent out as a missionary for the whole province, and continued to labor in Truro and other parts of the province for a time.

On February 27, 1770, David Archibald, George Scott, Robert Hunter, and John Savage (being a committee) directed the inhabitants of Truro to be warned to meet at the house of Robert Archibald on March 13 to hear the report of the Clerk of the Presbytery of Newton Lambavady, in Ireland read, and also to hear the report of their commissioner, Col. Alexander McNutt, concerning the prospect of obtaining a Minister to be settled among them. (The Town Meetings were frequently held in Robert Archibald's home, which was the "lower house in the Upper Village"—situated on the Southwest corner of what are now Robie and Elm Streets—and thus was conveniently located between the two villages.)

At this meeting with John Savage as chairman, it was resolved that David Archibald, John Johnson, William Fisher, James Johnson, and John Savage, be a committee to renew their application to the Presbytery of Lambavady for a Minister.

On July 28, 1770, David Archibald directed heads of families of Truro to be warned to meet at the Meeting House on Thursday next at 2 p.m. to see what their minds are respect-

ing the making application to the Rev. Daniel Cock to be their settled minister, and to agree on proposals to be made to him. Also to see if they will desire Mr. Cock to appoint a fast day for the election of elders in this town so that there may be a Session constituted in the Congregation; and to see about putting the Church in some kind of order, so that public worship may be held in it, as it will soon be inconvenient to have public worship in barns.

Anniversary Date

The date of this meeting, July 28, is of significance, for it is the anniversary date of the lifting of the siege of Londonderry, Ireland. Margaret Janet Hart, in her "Janet Fisher Archibald" writes:

"Many of the citizens of Londonderry, N.E., still suffering wounds received in that bombardment and many more remembered the agony, the hunger and fatigue at that time . . . for 50 years or more July 28 was kept in that township as a public holiday, a day of thanksgiving and rejoicing. It was considered by them an auspicious day. The first town meeting in Truro, N.S. was held on July 28, 1760, and that of Onslow, N.S. on July 28, 1761."

The frame of the church at Truro was raised in the Spring of 1768, and bounded in with sashes that year. As it was made of very large and heavy timber, it took all the men that could be got in Truro and Onslow to raise it, with the assistance of a number of women.

According to Longworth, William McNutt framed the building one year and the Onslow meeting house the next, but there is no indication that the people of Onslow worshipped in their own Church until 1816, but instead joined the congregation of the Truro Church until they obtained the services of the Rev. Robert Douglass as their first minister in 1816. Miller notes that Alexander McCurdy and Solomon Hoar, of Onslow, were added to the number of elders of the Truro Church prior to 1790.

According to Longworth, William Moor wanted the contract for framing the Truro Church, instead of McNutt, and was very much annoyed he did not get it—so much so McNutt thought he (Moor) would do him an injury if he could, and cautioned his apprentice always to measure the 10-foot pole before commencing work each morning. The pole, one morning, was found an inch shorter than left the night before, which convinced McNutt that his suspicion was well founded.

It is said that when they came to fix the site for the Church there was a difference of opinion about where it should be.

Some were for having it placed on the site of William Nelson's house (which stood where Bagnell's Launderers and Cleaners, Ltd. is now located) while others were for having it where it was erected, in what is now Robie Street Cemetery.

Lower Place Chosen

There was a majority of the congregation residing in the Lower Village and Old Barns, consequently the lower place was chosen as the place for the church. At a meeting held July 6, 1772, it was resolved that nails, glass, etc., for the outside of the Meeting House be got immediately.

Eliakim Tupper took a contract to complete the inside of the Church, and the workmen who finished it were John Christie who came out from Scotland in the same ship with Mr. Cock and his family in the Summer of 1772, and Daniel MacKenzie.

This was the only Church in Truro until about the year 1821, when the Episcopalians erected their Church in the East end of the village, on the present site of St. John's Church.

In 1853 a commodious new Church was built on the site of the present First United Church and two years later, in May 1855, the old Church which was raised in 1768 was taken down and removed, after serving as a place of worship for 85 years.

In those days liquor was freely used at weddings, funerals, and other family and community observances, rum being more or less a staple beverage in those days. For instance, when the Rev. James MacGregor journeyed from Halifax to Pictou, according to his diary, one of his meals consisted of "a flask of rum and a ham of lamb", and there are frequent references to the manufacture of rum from "Melasses" during the early days of settlement.

Miller tells us that "the first funeral that was held in Truro (except it might have been at the early settlement of the place) without the use of spirituous liquor, was the funeral of the late Ebenezer Archibald, which took place August 10, 1829."

That is not surprising to find that liquor was used somewhat freely when the frame for the Church was raised in 1768, and that after the frame was up, one who assisted in the raising, walked the ridge pole with a bottle of grog in each hand.

Alexander Miller, one of the first advocates of the temperance cause in Truro, which commenced about the year 1828, said in an address at one of the quarterly meetings of the Temperance Society in 1832:

"In the first of my recollection, perhaps about the year 1773, there was one barrel of rum sold in the Upper Village of Truro; and the next year one puncheon; and the next two, and I believe the next year, there were three



TRURO'S FIRST CHURCH—The late F. A. Doane used the above sketch in his "Nova Scotia Sketches" to give his readers an idea of what the first Church built in Truro looked like. Some people claim this Church which was located in what is now Robie Street Cemetery, was the first Presbyterian Church built in Canada. Others say that a Presbyterian Church was erected in Folly Village (now Glenholme) in 1771, a year before the Truro Church was completed. It was located near the site of the present Glenholme United Church, and made of logs. Folly Village was located in the original Township of Londonderry, and the first Presbyterian minister of Londonderry was the Rev. David Smith, who died in 1795 and whose grave may be seen today in Glenholme cemetery. Erection of the Truro Church was begun in 1768 but it was not completed until 1772. However public meetings were held in the unfinished Church in the Summer of 1770. The Rev. David Smith resided at Lower Debert on property now owned by Purley Reid, and ministered to the settlers living along the North shore of Cobequid Bay from the Isgonish River to Economy.

puncheons sold, and so on it kept increasing until, in the year 1831, there were 60 puncheons sold in Truro."

Mr. Miller noted that membership in the Society had grown from 18 in 1829 to 175 in 1832 and "besides these about 60 young men have espoused the cause and formed themselves into a Society on the same principles."

The group decided to boycott stores in the community "where this traffic is carried on" and also to petition the Legislature and Court of Sessions "to prohibit the use of strong drink in houses of entertainment." Presumably the latter referred to taverns and other public houses in the community.

Upon these recommendations, petitions were prepared and submitted to the January term of the Court of Sessions for the County of Colchester in 1803 asking the Court not to grant a license to any person to sell spirituous liquor. That action was the start of the move towards eventual prohibition by law.

We refer to this movement here because the frame of the old Church which was dismantled in 1855 was used in the construction of a Temperance Hall by S. K. Eaton in 1857. This was located on the North side of Queen Street near Victoria Square.

September 13, 1770 is the date of the call that was made out and presented to the Rev. Daniel Cock from the Truro congregation. As mentioned previously this was the month and day chosen as Truro's Natal Day forever by the committee arranging the 1882 anniversary of settlement.

The call to Mr. Cock was signed by seven elders who had been chosen but a few weeks before, and 42 adherents. The names of the elders were David Archibald, John Johnson, William Fisher, James Johnson, Robert Hunter, John Savage, and Samuel Archibald, only two of whom were unable to sign their names. These elders were probably of Mr. Kinlock's congregation.

The names of the adherents were James Yuill, Sr., Thomas Gourley, Samuel Archibald, Matthew Archibald, John Archibald, John Archibald, Jr., James Faulkner, John Fisher, James Dunlap, Robert Archibald, Alexander Nelson, William McKeen, John McKeen, John Oughterson, William White, Samuel Wetherby, Adam Dickey, James Wright, John Fulton, George Scott, David Nelson, Adam Boyd, Adam Johnson, James Archibald, Jr., James Fisher, David Archibald, Jr., James Johnson, Jr., David McKeen, James Yuill, Jr. Alexander Miller, John Gourley, John Logan, William Logan, Thomas Skeed, John Taylor, Joseph Moore, Henry Gluen, James Whidden, David Whidden, and Alexander McNutt.

The call was signed in the presence of Ephriam Howard and William Blair, of Onslow. It was accompanied by a bond signed by 30 of the foregoing named persons, binding themselves, their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, to pay the full sum of £60 for each year for the first two years, commencing April 1, 1770; £70 a year for the next two years; and £80 a year for the time to come, the one half to be paid

in cash, and the other half in neat stock or produce, at cash price. Also the one Right of land that was granted for the first Minister who would settle at Truro, to himself, his heirs, and assigns forever. Also the use of the Glebe Right. And they binded themselves to keep both of these Rights of land fenced and dyked; and pay the sum of £30 toward the expense of removing his family from Scotland.

Mr. Cock returned to Scotland and brought out his wife and family in the Summer of 1772. He had his house built on his front wood lot. It was situated where Parker's Fina Service Station is now located on the corner of what are now Prince and Walker Streets. His lot extended Southerly and included a section of what is now the Esplanade. Miller reported that at a meeting held in the Meeting House April 3, 1783, a committee was chosen "to set a value on the pews in the Meeting House, and that the Minister's salary be assessed on the pews according to their value." It was also agreed that another committee "give instructions to their representative to have an act passed agreeable to the foregoing resolution."

First Minister

Actually the Rev. James Lyon, of Prince Town, New Jersey, was the first Presbyterian minister to visit Nova Scotia. He arrived at Halifax early in 1765. He preached for some time at Pictou —the brook and community of Lyon's Brook is called for him. Mr. Lyon afterwards performed missionary work at Windsor, where he remained a short while, when he moved to Onslow, and stayed long enough to become a grantee of that township before leaving the province in 1771.

When the Associate Synod of Scotland agreed at a meeting in August, 1859 to send Mr. Cock to Nova Scotia, it was also agreed at the same meeting that the Rev. David Smith, of St. Andrew's, should be loosed from his charge and accompany him. Mr. Smith followed Mr. Cock to Nova Scotia in 1771, and it so happened that while Mr. Cock landed first and immediately after received a call, yet having left Truro to return to Scotland for his wife and family, Mr. Smith, who arrived in the interval, was settled in Londonderry in his absence, and was thus the first minister of the Associate Synod who actually entered on the permanent charge of a congregation in Nova Scotia, and probably in all of Canada.

It should be kept in mind that the Township of Londonderry included the settlements along the Cobequid Bay Shore West of the Chiganois River, and that the community we know as Londonderry or Acadia Mines today, was not included in the Township. The ten Rights in the Debert area of the Township were divided into eleven to make one for the Rev. David Smith, who settled there as the first settled minister of the Township.

The Presbytery of Truro was organized on August 2, 1786. The original members of Presbytery present at the meeting were the Rev. Daniel Cock, minister of Truro the Rev. David Smith, minister of Londonderry, the Rev. Hugh Graham, minister of Cornwallis, and John Johnson and John Barnhill, ruling elders of Truro and Londonderry, respectively. The Rev. George Gilmore, of Windsor, was present at the meeting as a correspondent member, and the Rev. Dr. James MacGregor of Pictou was also present. After appropriate preliminary religious services, the Presbytery was duly constituted with Mr. Cock as its first Moderator and Mr. Smith as its first clerk. This was the first Presbytery formed in connection with any branch of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

It is also interesting to note that the first Bible Society in Canada was founded in 1810 during the ministry of the Rev. James Waddell, as was the first Bible Class, and the first Missionary Concert for Prayer, at least in the Presbyterian Church.

Chapter 17

THE COBEQUID REBELS

A test for the active loyalty of the settlers came with the outbreak of the American Revolution. In November 1775 a new militia law was passed providing that one-fifth of the militia in the Province was always to be in readiness to march whenever defense was needed, as raids by the rebels from New England were expected.

This law was followed a month later by a new tax to defray the cost of supporting the militia. Neither of these acts was destined to be popular.

On the first day of the New Year, Governor Francis Legge reported:

"I am just informed from Annapolis and King's County that the people in general refuse to be embodied . . . none but troops in pay can be depended on for defense in this alarming and critical time."

Protests from the townships of Truro and Onslow were received a few days later. The tone of the Onslow and Truro petitions, signed by 56 and 64 settlers, respectively, was somewhat milder than an earlier memorial from Cumberland. The Cobequid people complained that if their men were obliged to march away, their settlements would be unprotected and their farms neglected. The enforcement of the new acts could prove to be their economic ruin, as their lands were just beginning to be worked. And besides there was no specie in the district to pay the tax. (Actually Spanish money was much more plentiful in New England and Nova Scotia at that time, than English money. It is on record that the military ran short of English currency during the revolutionary and French wars, and procured available Spanish currency from the West Indies to pay off British soldiers. And not too much of this came to Nova Scotia, for at the outbreak of the American Revolution there were only 75 regular troops in all of Nova Scotia.

By a Government report in the Rev. Mr. Cock's day there were in the whole Province but £2,500 in money (about \$6,650) and of that only £200 (about \$532) circulating among farmers.

The inhabitants of Cumberland had added the grievance that it would be "the greatest piece of cruelty and imposition for them to be subjected to march into different parts in arms against their friends and relations."

However, additional troops arrived at Halifax and Legge assured settlers that militia companies would remain in their

respective districts, and, as the result of the Council decision, the collection of the tax was deferred.

Militia Organized

A volunteer militia was organized by Governor Legge in the Spring of 1776, with Lieutenant Governor Francklin in charge of recruiting. Two months later he reported 200 volunteers from Cobequid and Cumberland ready and willing to enlist. However, a few days later, in a letter to England, Governor Legge wrote:

"I cannot place any great dependence on this militia raised on such terms; but it may be a means of preventing many disaffected people from taking arms and joining with the rebels in case of a descent."

Two months later Francklin reported some 450 men had enlisted in the Valley district between March 21 and 30 and "I doubt not of the same success at Cobequid and Cumberland altho' some few people in the latter have exhibited marks of disaffection . . ."

John Allen, one of the ring-leaders of the later Cumberland revolt, claims Legge failed to enlist any militia in Cumberland save a "few Englishmen". Possibly the same held true, although to a lesser degree, in the Cobequid district, but there is no evidence of Francklin submitting a report of his efforts in that area.

Meanwhile Legge was recalled to England to face certain charges concerning his administration, and there appears no doubt that the grounds for these charges coupled with grievances of the settlers against the government over the past 15 years since first settlement had resulted in the so-called "disaffection" of the Cumberland and Cobequid people.

In the Summer of 1776, Governor Marion Arbuthnot, who succeeded Legge, made a 14-day inspection trip through King's County and the Cobequid districts. He reviewed the volunteer militia, became acquainted with the magistrates, and dined with the best people. He reported that the inhabitants of Cobequid were "a strong, robust people, bigoted dissenters and of course great levellers, but My Lord how can it be otherwise for to my great astonishment no Governor had ever visited those poor people, or sent any person among them, so as to form a judgment of the necessary steps to make these men useful subjects; but on the contrary they have been left the parents of their own works."

(In fairness to past Governors it should be explained that lack of a highway from Halifax to Cobequid was one reason perhaps why they had not been visited previously.)

Now that Arbuthnot had made such a visit, he expected that even the disaffected settlers of Cobequid, whom he term-

ed five hundred of "the finest men of the province, settled on the best land, and the most flourishing because they are the most industrious," would take the test oath to defend themselves against the King's enemies.

Open To Attack

The settlements around Minas Basin, remote from protection from Halifax, lay open to attacks of the rebels. Feverish military preparations were made. The officers commanding the militia units in King's County and the districts of Windsor, Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry, were directed to make returns of what powder and ball were needed to compete their men with 12 pounds each. Richard Upham looked after the distribution of ammunition at Cobequid.

As the year 1776 began, rumors of a great American invasion of Nova Scotia became stronger. And during this time when it was even reported that Quebec was captured, the "licentious and Rebellious disposition" of the settlers at Cobequid as well as at Cumberland was alarming to the authorities at Halifax. It was decided to march 300 men via Windsor to Fort Cumberland for the preservation of good order in those parts of the country. The arrival of the British Army at Halifax from the evacuated city of Boston temporarily postponed the expedition to Cumberland until a larger detachment with adequate provisions could be sent.

During the Summer of 1776 after the rebel attack on Quebec had been repulsed, the military situation in the Province had definitely improved. Fort Cumberland, which guarded both the Cobequid and Cumberland districts, was fortified with 200 men.

But rumors of an American invasion persisted. This time, it was said, the rebels would attack Fort Cumberland which was situated in the most disaffected area of the province. The Cumberland people had sent four representatives to the Continental Congress and had even asked the Americans to come to Nova Scotia. Though only a small group of native rebels were said to be responsible for the attitude of the Cumberland people, nevertheless they were a very active group and rumour of an invasion proved to be a reality. Only the number of rebels was exaggerated.

Hon. Jonathan Eddy, a former member of the Nova Scotia Assembly, and his army of 72 men, marched overland from Machias, Maine to arrive at Fort Cumberland early in November. How, after making an unsuccessful attempt to scale the British ramparts, they were finally driven off, in a disgraceful rout, is a story in itself.

Washington Replies

An expedition against Nova Scotia has been proposed early in 1775 by the inhabitants of Machias and the proposal submitted to George Washington. In reply, Washington wrote in part.

"That province has not acceded it is true, to the measures of Congress, but it has not commenced hostilities against them, nor are any to be apprehended. To attack it, therefore, is a measure of conquest rather than defence, and may be apprehended with very dangerous consequences.

"As to furnishing vessels in force; you, gentlemen, will anticipate me pointing out our weakness and the enemy's strength at sea . . .

"Our situation as to ammunition, absolutely forbids us sending a single ounce of it out of camp at present."

Presumably Jonathan Eddy, upon receipt of supplies from the General Court of Boston the following year, decided to take the initiative on his own. His men were Nova Scotians.

Richard John Uniacke, suspected of favoring Eddy's revolt, was arrested and marched through Truro in handcuffs on his way to Halifax.

During the rebel attack on Fort Cumberland it was found necessary to send 100 troops to keep order in the Cobequid area. Rebels were even harboured and assisted in the townships of Cobequid.

Part of the crew of an American privateer, which had destroyed £20,000 worth of property at Canso and elsewhere, made their way across the Province to Onslow, where many of the inhabitants received them with open arms. After being secreted in the settlements of that district for some time, they were given a boat to Windsor, where they transferred to a schooner sailing for Halifax. When the intelligence of this action reached official ears, sharp letters of rebuke were written by both the Lieutenant Governor and the Provincial Secretary to the Presbyterian Minister at Londonderry, the Rev. David Smith.

Governor Arbuthnot declared he was more than astonished, especially as he had paid a personal visit to Cobequid and had even received a loyal address from Londonderry and Truro.

To safeguard against any other rebels making their escape via Halifax, no Cobequid people were allowed to go past Fort Sackville without a pass from Samuel Archibald, J. P. signifying their business to the capital.

The townships of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry were ordered to send 50 militiamen to Halifax and all the people were to take the oath of allegiance and fidelity. In a later despatch to the Rev. Mr. Smith, Governor Arbutnot explained that the people had to exhibit more than passive loyalty if they did not want to be treated as enemies of the King.

Depended On Boston

Up to 1776 the people of Cumberland and Cobequid carried on considerable trade by water with the New England communities where lived their friends and relations. They depended upon Boston for supplies, as they were cut off from Halifax by a lack of highways. Hence when the revolutionary war came, the Truro people were utter strangers in Nova Scotia and as much New Englanders as they day they came.

In the year 1777 the people of Cumberland and Cobequid were cut off from New England and virtually isolated. Thus when in that year news was received of a second attempt on Fort Cumberland, the Council, in order to prevent an internal uprising, immediately resolved that not only should the people of Cumberland take the oath of allegiance but the inhabitants of Londonderry, Truro, and Onslow should take the oath of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration at the Sessions of the Peace to be held at Onslow.

It should be explained here that the first Court House was in Onslow and Courts were held there until the year 1800. Justices of the Peace did all the County business in those days, except what the Members of Parliament looked after. The Justices met once or twice each year and their meetings were referred to as the Sessions of the Peace.

To administer the oaths, two magistrates, John Cunningham and George Pyke, were sent from Halifax.

At Truro four persons took the oath — David Nelson, William Logan, Luke Upham, and Nathan Upham. The rest of the adult male inhabitants, 67 in number, refused. In the other two townships, all who were called upon refused, under what the Council termed "frivolous pretences".

When the result was reported the Council on May 1, 1777 resolved that all persons so refusing should be held as Popish recusants, and prosecuted according to the law. (There was a law in effect at that time which provided penalties for anyone refusing to attend the services of the Established Church; those refusing being termed "recusants".)

On June 11, 1777, the House of Assembly passed a resolution refusing to admit the member from Onslow, where the Session of the Peace was held, and Arbutnot determined to

outlaw the whole district. In a letter to the Lords of Trade, he wrote:

“... and if I am let alone will do the King’s business, regularly to your Lordships’ satisfaction; I will find a grand jury that will do justice, as to finding true bills for trial and a jury to bring the delinquents guilty upon fair proof of their delinquency.”

(Charles Dickson was the representative for Onslow in 1777. Joshua Lamb had been returned in 1770 to represent Onslow but in 1774 his seat had been declared vacant for non-attendance and offering no apology, and Onslow was thus not represented until three years later when Mr. Dickson was returned. Miller says the reason why Onslow was not represented during those three years was “on account of there being no pay for members at this time.” Mr. Lamb, who was the first Registrar of Deeds, serving from 1770 to 1777 in that capacity, was succeeded in that post by Charles Dickson when Lamb after the American Revolution, went to the new republic and became a citizen of that country.)

On June 13, 1777 when Samuel Archibald, member for Truro presented himself to take his seat, the House resolved unanimously “that the inhabitants, having refused to take the Oath of Allegiance, are not entitled to the privilege of representation, and therefore their member cannot be admitted.”

Presumably Captain John Morrison, Member for Londonderry was also refused his seat at the same time, but Miller notes that Morrison continued to serve until 1778.

The Government in England was at once advised of the course which the Nova Scotia House pursued, and on August 9, following, Lord George Germaine wrote Governor Arbuthnot that His Majesty approved of the conduct of the House of Assembly in refusing to receive the Member from Truro, for the reason assigned, and hoped to hear of the disenfranchisement of that township. It does appear that the townships were never formally disenfranchised for disloyalty, though for some time their members were not allowed admission to the Assembly.

No Representation — No Tax

When the land tax was introduced in 1779, the freeholders of Truro sent a petition to the Government declaring that even after the Assembly’s objections regarding the township had been removed, their member had not been recalled. They refused to recognize the land tax, “which we would by no means have objected to pay in equal proportion, agreeable to our privileges, if represented.”

Here was an old cry which had been resounded in New England during the Revolution—no taxation without representation. The people of Truro asked that the tax might be remitted and their representative taken back “in as Publick (sic) a manner as he was suspended.”

Granted Full Pardon

In October 1783 an Act passed the Assembly “granting a full and free pardon to all persons in Nova Scotia guilty of treason or treasonable correspondence with the enemy during the rebellion of the ‘Thirteen Colonies’ ”. From the passage of that Act the people of the townships were restored the enjoyment of their former privileges.

While the war lasted, no action was taken by the residents of the townships that in any way obstructed the policy of the local Government. They allowed it to be generally known that their feelings were strongly in favor of the rebellious colonists, which is about the worst that can be laid to their charge. An extract from a letter dated Truro, June 24, 1786, written by Alexander Miller, of Truro, to his brother James, at Belfast, Maine, gives a very good idea of what the disloyalty of the people at that time amounted to:

“As for my own part the time of the war I suffered no great. When the King’s men came along as a great many did, I always treated them as well as I could, and for so doing I and my two sons were once obliged to take to the woods for our protection and stay there till the soldiers went off. But that made no difference to me or my wife, for when our American friends visited us, we always showed them kindness, filled their bellies and sent them along.”

The conduct of the British troops didn’t help to change the feelings of the people of Cobequid. Thomas Miller tells us that during the period of the Revolution “British soldiers were dependent, to a certain extent, on the inhabitants, residing on the sides of the Bay of Fundy for provisions. On one occasion, a number of the soldiers came up the Bay in their boat or small vessel. They landed at Bass River, and went to the house of James Fulton, Esq., entered the house, and helped themselves to what they needed to eat, then laid themselves down for a night’s rest. In the morning, they went to the bureau and took out what clean shirts they could get, and dressed themselves. They went then to the pasture and took a heifer three years old, butchered her, and took her away with them. The inhabitants dare not make the least resistance.”

But according to Israel Longworth a few of the settlers allowed their feelings to carry them further. They formed

themselves into what was called the "American Council". They frequently met among themselves in a house which stood on the present location of Layton's Snack Bar on Prince Street, to discuss the affairs of the nation. On one occasion the Council burned some tea in a back room of this house, and took a solemn pledge never to drink another drop. This was done as an expression of their approval of the celebrated destruction of tea which occurred in Boston Harbour on December 18, 1773.

A loyal old pensioner, James Wright, hearing of these meetings, one evening took it upon himself to enter the room where the Council was debating with closed doors. He immediately informed the Assembly they were not treating King George as good subjects ought; that they were a set of traitors, etc., when someone interrupted by telling King George and James Wright to go some place very far from the intention of the latter.

Went For Musket

Upon this, Wright left and went home for his musket, bayonet and accoutrements, and returned soon, in a great hurry. On his way back he met a Mr. Moor, who knowing Wright to be a man of impetuous disposition, and seeing the musket, asked him where he was going. But on went Wright, giving Moor to understand, to use his own words: "some person has insulted me and King George, and I am going to see if he will do it again."

Wright once more appeared before the Council. He cocked and levelled his gun and said, "who will say anything against me and King George now?". He then informed them that whoever did not immediately hurrah for King George he would blow his brains out. A loud cheer followed. When order was restored, Wright said, "the last man that remains in this room, I'll blow his brains out," whereupon the meeting dispersed, it is said, chiefly by the windows, and that the last man was bayoneted by Wright through his coat tails to the wall on making his escape through the door.

This appears to have put an end to the "American Council" and did much towards bringing people to see the impropriety of their conduct, though for a number of years afterwards, some of them retained and gave expression to their American views, by erecting a liberty pole on the "Parade"—what is now Victoria Square—on the return of every fourth of July.

Perhaps the strangest thing of all is that even though three-quarters of all the 20,000 New Englanders in Nova Scotia went to back the new republic after the war, the people of

Truro, Onslow and Londonderry, which had shown such a rebellious attitude, were the exceptions in this respect.

Richard John Uniacke, to whom earlier reference was made was admitted to the Bar of Nova Scotia a few years later, and afterwards served as Attorney-General. He became one of Nova Scotia's greatest and most highly respected men.

Chapter 18

SLAVES AND APPRENTICES

Bondage was not uncommon in the days of early settlement of the townships of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry. It will be recalled in Governor Lawrence's second proclamation "that 100 acres of wild woodland will be allowed to every person being master or mistress of a family for himself or herself, and 50 acres for every white or black man, woman or child of which such person's family shall consist at the actual time of making the grant."

Keeping of slaves in those days was considered a Godly thing to do—in bondage the heathens would be turned from their idols to Christianity.

Governor Lawrence must have been aware that a number of the New Englanders who were to settle Nova Scotia owned slaves, or he would not have made provision for grants "for every white or black man".

As early as 1749 slaves had been employed in the building of Halifax, and many of these were later disposed of by sale in Boston.

Slave ownership was legal in the Province in those early days, and the custom defended by the church courts. Many of the clergymen's families were served by slaves. To "bound" service, and indentured labour for a term of years there was no objection made.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, many of the people who emigrated from Ulster to New England were "bound" to some of the previous settlers to pay off the expenses of their voyage to America.

Children of indigent parents in the days of early settlement were "bound" over to other people, and the Statutes of Canada today still provide that Overseers of the Poor, or the parents, may bind over a child up to 14 years as an apprentice or servant to another couple. If, however, the child is over 14 he has to give his or her consent.

This practise of binding apprentices is still used today in some trades and professions, but the advent of the Children's Aid Society and other child relief agencies in recent years has obviated the necessity of Overseers of the Poor binding indigent children to other couples.

In the papers of the late Judge S. D. McLellan of Truro is a copy of one such Article of Apprenticeship dated August 15, 1783, whereby John Bartlett, son of Ebenezer and Deliverance Bartlett was bound unto William and Dolly Putnam,

to serve as apprentice for 14 years and eight months "to learn the art of mistery of husbandry" (farming).

The Putnams agreed that they would "teach said apprentice . . . the art or mistery of husbandry if the said apprentice be capable to learn and will find him good and sufficient meat, drink, washing and lodging, also to teach him to read and write and cipher and at the end of said term, to discharge him with one sute (sic) of apparel fit for labour—and one sute fit for holidays and also to give and secure him 100 acres of land in the township of Onslow."

It was agreed by the parents that the youth would obey all reasonable commands of master and mistress; must not frequent taverns, play cards or dice, or associate intimately with women, or marry, and must not waste, lend, or steal his master's goods.

Slaves Were Owned

Slaves of course were more than "bound"—they were owned, but under Nova Scotia law, if slaves considered they were abused they could sue their owners in the Courts. They could, and did, own land. Very often in a man's will he left a few acres to each of his married negroes. But in most cases slaves were disposed of as were other goods and chattels.

Also among the late Judge McLellan's papers is a Bill of Sale of a negro slave, age 12, named Abraham, by Matthew Harris (of Pictou) to Matthew Archibald, of Truro for £50. The Bill, registered September 29, 1779, notes that the boy was born of Harris's negro slave "in my house in Maryland." Still earlier, the Rev. James Lyon, the first Presbyterian minister in the province had a colored boy.

Reference was made in a previous chapter to the indignation of the Rev. James MacGregor when he learned that the Rev. Daniel Cock owned a colored slave girl. Actually Mr. Cock owned the girl's mother as well, but he sold her because of her unruly conduct. To Mr. MacGregor, just out from Scotland, this was unthinkable. He said he would rather burn at the stake than keep communion with anyone who owned a slave.

Soon afterwards there appeared in print "A letter to a clergyman, urging him to set free a black girl, held in slavery." The ministers of the Truro Presbytery were indignant. Rev. David Smith, of Londonderry, wrote strongly in defense of his slave-owning friend. The girl remained with Mr. Cock until his death in 1805.

But Mr. MacGregor continued the fight. From his meagre salary, over a period of years, he paid for the freedom of two slaves owned by Mr. Harris.

Mills Set Up

In addition to repairing dykes, breaking the land, and building rough log shelters during the first year of settlement, the newcomers had to make plans for permanent homes. During the first year of settlement saw mills were set up in each of the townships to provide boards for homes, ships, and other necessities. Grist mills, tanneries, blacksmith shops, and the like had to be set up soon after the first settlement. Power for the mills was provided from mill ponds formed by damming streams. Many of these streams have since been diverted and the stream beds filled in.

There was one such mill pond in the area where J. D. Barrett's shop is now located on the corner of Mill and Queen Street. Mill Street was so named because there was a mill where Rushton's Fina Service Station is at present located.

The style of the early homes was similar to that of the homes in New England from which the settlers had come. There were usually two rooms in the front of the house, with the kitchen across the whole width of the back. In some houses there was a bedroom at one end of the kitchen, possibly where the children were born. New Englanders still refer to this bedroom off the kitchen as the "borning" room. On the other end of the kitchen there was often a scullery added.

A huge chimney went up from the centre of the house, a great mass that once warmed in the autumn kept the whole house at an equable temperature till the fire was allowed to go out in the Spring.

There was a second storey with four bedrooms, and above all the attic. The standard kitchen fire place was eight feet long, five feet high, and deep enough to take logs up to three feet in diameter. In the outside corners were the ovens and in the front corners, under the mantelpieces, benches for the children.

Because of the uncertain and difficult transportation, the people were for a great part dependent on their own resources. They grew flax for their linen cloth and kept enough sheep to provide their wool. Doubtless they depended on the forest for their sugar and for much of their meat. Their frequent diet included fish and potatoes.

Men, women, and children went barefoot in Summer and wore mocassins made of moosehide in Winter, and probably wooden sabots in muddy weather.

Miller tells us that in 1770 and for many years after, Lieut. John Johnson, Rev. Daniel Cock, and David Archibald were the only three persons in Truro who owned and wore boots. Even in the early 19th century, boots and shoes were hard to



A RELIC OF THE PAST—Amos S. Johnson resides in a home in Lower Truro which was built in 1795, over the cellar of a former Acadian home which was destroyed during the 1755 Expulsion. Mr. Johnson's house, shown above, is believed to be the oldest house in the County, and the stone-work of the basement and hand-hewn timbers and beams of the house are curios. The house is located on part of the original grant to John Johnson, great-great-great grandfather of Amos Johnson.

come by, and once Anthony Marshall undertook to make a pair for his daughter Ann. She looked the finished article over carefully, then remarked: " 'T would be no sin to worship these for they bear no likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath."

Reference was made in an earlier chapter to the manufacture of homespun into clothing. The men, with beards and queues (pigtails), wore on weekdays their checked shirts and long trousers but no shoes or stockings. On Sundays they dressed exceedingly gay for the journey to Church, in shirts of finest linen, many of them ruffled.

The women wore homespun petticoats, aprons and jackets on weekdays, but in Summer went without stockings and many without the usual linen caps. On Sundays they dressed in silks and calicoes with long ruffles; their hair dressed high and many without caps, but all with fans.

Their Sunday finery had probably been brought with them from New England.

The earliest records of location of homes in Truro are a map of the town dated 1837, which is owned by Truro Print-

ing & Publishing Co. Ltd., and a letter to the editor of the erstwhile Colchester Sun written by P. S. Hamilton of Yarmouth in 1889.

In his letter, Mr. Hamilton lists the dwelling houses and other principal buildings of "the village" as they were in 1838. We will suppose we enter 'the village' as it was then called, from the South, by the Halifax Road, using the letter "R" for the right and "L" for the left hand side of the highway as we proceed:

"First L, the house of John Barnhill (This would be the property at present designated as 192 Willow Street, and now owned by William Barnhill).

"Nearly opposite, R, an old house occupied by Joseph McNaughton.

"L, by the brookside, Mrs. William Blair. (This presumably is the property now owned by Mrs. W. H. Crocker, 148 Willow Street).

"L, shoemaker's shop, and in the rear of it, the tannery of her late husband (Mr. Blair).

"L, the old Miller homestead. "When I first recollect it," wrote Hamilton, "Mr. Alex Miller still occupied it, and it bore a sign as a "Temperance Inn", and was, I suppose, one of the first, if not the first 'Temperance Inn' in Nova Scotia. Fifty years ago (1839) I think, it had already become the residence of David Fletcher.

"L, some distance back from the street, an unoccupied house of Charles Tucker, having a verandah, with outside steps, along the whole front of the second storey. (This house, since gone, was located at the rear of what is now Murray Eddy's house.)

"L, nearly in front of this house, an old shop of Mr. Tucker's.

"R, C. Tucker's residence.

"L, nearly opposite the latter, the wheelwright's shop, and in its rear, the dwelling of George Cook.

"L, Samuel Craig.

"R, William Hall.

"R, Hall's blacksmith shop.

"L, C. Tucker's shop.

(The map of 1837 does not quite jibe with the description in Mr. Hamilton's letter. The map shows a "Tupper" home, rather than a "Tucker" home at the rear of the present location of Murray Eddy's home. The map also shows George Cook's property as being on the Prince Street side of Samuel Craig's property. and a property belonging to a "C. Incher" at the rear of the Hall property.)

"We have now reached the Common (Victoria Square)" continued Hamilton, on the South East corner of which a

house, since enlarged, at this time mostly unoccupied, although James Philips, tailor, occupied part of it —long known afterwards as Northup's Hotel". (The map, in contrast, shows Northup's Hotel on the South East corner of Willow and Prince Streets, and the Philips' residence on the South West corner.)

"Turning left," continued Hamilton," the only house fronting on the South end of the Common was W. Bowlan's." (The map shows this as "Boleyn").

"Daniel Smith's and David Cutten Smith's were the only residences on Smith's Island". (On the map W. C. Smith's home is shown where Goodspeeds Limited is now located and at the rear was a house of W. Smith. Across the street, where the residence of Mrs. Frank T. Stanfield Senior is now located, was the home of a John Smith. A sizeable brook flowed through the hollow (since filled in) beyond Goodspeeds and the high land West of the hollow was known as "Smith's Island") Hamilton continues:

"Fronting on the Common, at the South West corner, the old jail. "Next, West side of the Common, S. G. W. Archibald's previously Joyce's.

"Next, old Court House, directly in front of the present Court House.

"Next John Doggett's, now Prince of Wales Hotel.

"The only building fronting on the Common, from the East side, was the house, since removed, and long known as 'Charley Nelson's Inn'. At this time it was occupied by some of Mr. Nelson's family. (This "Inn" was located where Bagnell's Limited is now located.)

"Fronting the Common from the North, was, at the North-west corner, the old corner house, a tavern of long standing, afterwards burnt. At that time it was, I think, kept by J. Gordon Nelson. In a line at the Northeast corner, a house afterwards enlarged, belonging to the Ross estate, and unoccupied in 1838-39. (The map shows a residence of John Ross about where Cloverlea Apartments are now located at 31 Queen Street).

"Between this and 'the corner house', a vacant shop approached by a long flight of stairs, which had been occupied as such by S. Clark of Halifax.

"Leaving the Common by the "Lower Village Road" (that is, Elm Street) the first L was known as the "Fisher house" and was occupied by J. Corbett. (The map shows the home occupied by Corbett as being on the opposite side of the street).

"Next L., D. Sutherland's, then an Inn. (The map does not show the Inn, but shows a home of J. Smith between the

Prince of Wales Hotel and D. Sutherland's).

"**L.**, the carpenter's shop and then the dwelling of Thomas Crowe.

"**R.**, on the brow of the hill, Peter Blair's house, long disappeared.

"Leaving the Common by Front, now Queen Street (and proceeding East) the first **L.**, John Dunlap's shop. (This is shown on the map as the "Red Shop")

"On the brow of the slope, **R.**, an old house known as Knight's place and I think then occupied by a Mr. Knight, afterwards of Halifax.

"**L.**, the William Dickson place, eventually (Hiram) Hyde's—occupied in 1838, or just previously by John Romans and John Johnson. (The map shows this home as being located near where Cedar Apartments are now located).

"**L.**, George Dickey—afterwards David Wilson. (The map shows this home as being located about what is now the Eastern corner of Normandy Avenue and Queen Streets).

"**L.**, William Flemming—his barns and outbuildings, then on the opposite side of the street.

"**L.**, James Braynion—afterwards Charles Pearson's.

"**L.**, a little old-fashioned house occupied by a Mrs. Detrieachsen, who kept a private school.

"**L.**, John Fulton. I think he was still alive and in occupation in 1838. The house and farm were after him successively owned by Isaac Blair, Joseph R. Dodson, and James Hamilton.

"**L.**, Dr. D. B. Lynds. William Logan's house and carriage-maker's shop. Edward Logan—afterwards his son David's.

"**L.**, an old house nearly opposite the North end of Church Lane (Church Street) occupied by "tinker Nowlan".

"**R.**, house and silver-smith, etc., of David Page.

"**L.**, David Waddell Archibald.

(The map does not show the homes of Mrs. Detrieachsen, John Fulton, James Braynion)

"Dr. D. B. Lynds, Edward Logan, or David Page. D. W. Archibald's house is shown on the Eastern corner of what is now the intersection of Logan and Queen Streets)

"Here, crossing a channel which fed a pond by the margin of the street, we have, back from the street, to the left, the grist and saw mills and residence of Matthew J. Archibald.

(The map shows these were located where Rushton's Fina Service Station is now located, hence the name "Mill Street". Immediately West of Mill Street was the mill pond, long since filled in. Fronting the present service station lot, on Queen Street, was the Baptist Church, and directly opposite, on the Southwest corner of what are now Queen and Walker Streets,

the residence of Mrs. Gardiner and her sisters which eventually became Miss Turner's.)

"Returning to the Common, and leaving it by the Back, now Prince Street, we have first **R**, house of Misses Chambers.

"**L**, John Dunlap's—now the oldest house in Truro, but moved to a cross street. (The map shows this house was located near where Layton's Snack Bar is now located.)

"**R**., William Cock's.

"**L**., school house—near, but West of Flemming's Lane (now Dominion Street).

"**R**., George R. Grassie, Deputy Sheriff—now or lately Dr. Muir's. (This would be on the site of the present News Office).

"The house directly opposite Grassie's, built and occupied by Dr. Ed Carritt—afterwards Joseph Crowe's—had not yet, I think, been erected at the close of '38; but I am not certain. (On the map a house of Syd Crowe is shown where The Peoples Church is now located).

"Next, Mrs. Upham, mother of Chas. Upham, who eventually owned it. (Mrs. Upham's house is not shown on the map).

"Here," notes Hamilton, "there extends to the Southward what used to be known as "Young's Road" or the "Muckle Henry Miller Road" which formed the first and oldest approach to Truro from Halifax. On its prolongation Northward (presumably meaning what is now Lorne Street) to Front Street (Queen Street) there was to the **L** a small house occupied either by Dr. Carritt or the Misses Hamilton.

(Hamilton does not mention two other houses on the right side of Prince Street which are shown on the map—the homes of R. Watson, just about opposite the intersection of Louise and Prince Streets, and J. E. Waddell, where St. John's Rectory is now located).

"Continuing East on Back Street, we have **L**., David Forbes'—afterwards enlarged and a storey added. (The map shows this home at about where the Mitchell Building is now located).

"**R**., David Page, Jr. (His house was located where the Maritime Tel. & Tel. Co. Ltd. building now is.)

"**L**., and corner of Church Lane (Church Street) Samuel James Blair's carpenter's shop—afterwards the Post Office. (This was where the Royal Bank now stands).

"Directly opposite —St. John's Church, on the site of the present Church.

"The Ross two-storey house **R**., on Back Street, was, I think, vacant in '38 but soon afterwards occupied by Joseph Dodson's as an Inn. (This is not shown on the map).

"**L**., in rear of Church, Mrs. Matthew Archibald.

"**R.**, the Waddell mansion—Rev. John Waddell. (This was situated where Parker's Fina Service Station is now located on the corner of Prince and Walker Streets).

(The map shows a stream, the "Mill Race" flowing across Prince Street just about in line with what is now Waddell Street. It flowed into the Mill Pond at Queen and Mill Streets "Crossing the original channel of the 'Falls Brook' (now Lepper Brook) an old house **R.**, near the bridge. (This brook is shown on the map as "Boyd's Brook").

"**R.**, Longfield cottage and grounds—Rev. John Burnyeat—now Sir Adams G. Archibald. (This presumably is the reason for the naming of the present "Cottage Street").

"Two old buildings **R.**, and occupied by Eliakim Tupper, tinker; the other the office of George Dill, prothonotary and Registrar of Deeds.

"**R.**, residence of George Dill.

"**R.**, Hugh Moore's homestead.

(Eliakim Tupper's building, and the cottage of the Rev. Mr. Burnyeat are not shown on the map, but George Dill's office is. East of the Dill property the property of "A. Moor" is shown but not that of Hugh Moore.)

"Returning to the cross street running North from near the Waddell house (that is, the present Walker Street), on the **R.**, the house of D. Brown; from him sold to P. S. Hamilton; and from him to Jonathan McCully.

"**L.**, Truro Academy. (This was located where Mac's Bakery now stands.)

"**R.**, Richard Ambrose. **R.**, Alexander Archibald. **R.**, Jotham B. Waddell.

"**R.**, on the Northeast corner of this street and intervalle road or Front Street, the building erected as shop by John (Dr.) Waddell—afterwards Reading's dwelling. This brings us to the bridge leading to Bible Hill.

(Shown on the map is the property of D. Head, the first house on the right going North of Walker. This, presumably, is the house referred to by Mr. Hamilton as belonging to D. Brown.)

"On the low intervening ground, just at the foot of the hill (where the subway is now located) there were only two blacksmith's shops—McCully **R.**, and McLeod's, **L.**

"On the crown of the hill, commencing next the river, there were

"**R.**, John Marsters. A small house of Mrs. English on the river bank to the rear of Marsters'. A shoemaker shop and house of Major Alexander Archibald.

"**L.**, Marsters law office. **R.**, John Goudge shop. **R.**, William McCully.

"**R.**, corner Court House road (that is, what is now College Road)—Somer's house—afterwards Wiswell's.

"**R.**, opposite corner Court House road—Edward Blanchard.

"**L.**, Ezra Witter—an Inn of long standing, afterwards burnt.

"**L.**, old Masonic Lodge. **R.**, saddler's shop. Mrs. Barry.

"**R.**, Hon. S. W. G. Archibald, office and house.

"**L.**, and about a furlong further along North, Henderson homestead. We need go no further.

"Returning to Court House road, a short distance up, **R.**, Jonathan Graves, formerly postmaster.

"About half way to the top of the hill **R.**, John Goudge, afterwards Rev. William McCulloch.

"At the top of the hill **R.**, R. B. Dickson, barrister—afterwards Mr. Metzler.

"Nearly opposite to this house North, formerly stood the Court House which was afterwards moved to the Common."

(The map shows the residence of Judge Chipman opposite the Court House on College Road.

Chapter 19

METROPOLIS OF PRESBYTERIANISM

For many years after 1800 Truro was regarded as the metropolis of Presbyterianism—a kind of Gospel Jerusalem to which the tribes repaired at stated times to pay their vows, and a nursing mother to young communities. Truro claims a higher origin than even Pictou itself, the great rendezvous of John Knox's own children.

It should not be forgotten that a Presbyterian Seminary was built in Truro on Queen Street, where the home of Mr. and Mrs. T. P. Bentley is now located. It was operated from September 1858 to 1863. There were 36 students entered for the first year, of whom 12 were students in Theology.

The School was originally opened in Pictou in 1820 under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch, who carried on practically single-handed until 1839 when he was appointed President of the new Dalhousie University. Even after going to Halifax Dr. McCulloch continued the work of the Theological section of the original Presbyterian College in Pictou until his death in 1843.

In 1848 the School was transferred to West River where it continued to operate until 1858, and was then established at Truro.

Also in 1848 the Presbyterian Free Church established a School in Halifax giving instruction in both Arts and Theology, and in 1860 a union was brought about of the Synod of the Free Church and the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia to form the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces. It was then agreed that the School of Theology of Truro be transferred to Halifax and that the Arts portion of the School be continued in Truro. It was the union of these two Theological Schools which eventually became Pine Hill Divinity Hall.

The Arts College continued in Truro until 1863 when it was transferred to Halifax uniting with Dalhousie, and the three Truro Professors in Arts joined the faculty of Dalhousie. These were Professor James Ross, Principal, Professor Thomas McCulloch, and Professor Lyall. Professor McCulloch was a son of Dr. Thomas McCulloch who established the School at Pictou.

In 1863 Dr. Ross was appointed President of Dalhousie University, being the second person to hold that office.

The Seminary building was made over into a duplex dwelling house and occupied by the late C. M. Blanchard and the

late C.E. Bentley. The building was gutted by fire in 1904 and later torn down.

We have no information as to the size and design of the first Meeting House which was built at Truro, but it served the people for miles around who wended their way to Truro on foot or on horseback on the Sabbath to attend religious services which lasted the greater part of the day. Those were the days of long sermons. Two or three hours of religious exercises were followed by an intermission of 15 minutes. This, in Summer, was spent by the people under the shade of the old spruce trees, which then stood in front of the Church on the opposite side of the road. There they partook of the refreshments they had brought from their homes.

From the description of the Church at Londonderry, New Hampshire which had served the settlers before their arrival in Truro, we can get a mental picture of what the Church at Truro was like. Margaret Janet Hart in her "Janet Fisher Archibald", gives this description of the Londonderry Church:

"The pews consisted of two boxed in together, and a door that shut when all were in. One family sat with its back to the pulpit. In the front was placed first the seat for the deacons, raised above the floor of the aisles, as were the pews. Higher than the deacons' seat, and more impressive, was the square pew for the elders, while against the end wall and several feet higher again was the pulpit.

"In their Church ordinances there were two sacraments only. Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Marriage was not a sacrament, and although the banns or marriage intentions were published in church, the marriage could not of necessity take place there as their clergymen, being dissenters, were not allowed to marry. And although the liturgy of the Church of Scotland was still authorized, it was not often used, perhaps suggesting to them too much the service of the Church of England. Probably for the same reason although they sat for Psalms, they stood at prayer."

As noted from the preceding chapter, the Rev. James MacGregor of Pictou, attended the meeting when the Truro Presbytery was organized and took part in the services, but he did not join the Presbytery, as the Confession of Faith of the Truro Presbyterians differed from that of the Scottish Presbyterians. Mr. MacGregor belonged to the Reformed Anti-burgher Church. The Westminster Confession of Faith, which Mr. MacGregor espoused, was a compromise which had been adopted by the Church of Scotland long after the ancestors of the Truro people had gone to Ireland.

It is also believed that the Rev. MacGregor felt somewhat keenly about the fact that the Rev. Cock owned a colored

slave girl, and he did not wish to associate himself with Mr. Cock for this reason.

Impeded Progress

Some 13 years later the Presbytery of Pictou was constituted, and the diversity of view between members of the Pictou Presbytery and the Truro Presbytery served only to impede the progress of Presbyterianism in Nova Scotia. It was terminated 32 years later by the Union of 1817, and the inauguration of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia.

"In all their rude dwellings," continues Miss Hart, "the morning and evening sacrifice of prayer and praise was regularly offered, and the Scriptures devoutly read. The omission of such daily acts of devotion, in a single family, for some years after the settlement, would have excited alarm and called for examination. The following fact may serve as an illustration of the general feeling which thus pervaded the community. The venerable pastor, being one evening informed that a parishioner was becoming neglectful of family worship, immediately repaired to his dwelling: The family had retired. He called up the man and enquired if the report were true, and whether he had omitted family devotion that evening. On his admitting the fact, his faithful pastor, having duly admonished him of his fault, refused to leave his house until he had kneeled with his partner, and offered up prayer to God. The children got religious instruction in the schools, and both parents and children were catechized thoroughly in their homes, not only in the shorter catechism, but the longer as well, and with the Scripture proofs added."

The Sabbath was strictly kept. As far as possible, all the cooking for Sunday was done on Saturday. If, on Saturday night, enough wood were not brought in to feed the fire over the weekend, then the fire must go out. On Sunday, no walks might be taken for recreation; there was to be no picking of flowers, or berries. There was no light reading of any sort and it would not have been tolerated if there had been. Instead there was the Bible, Baxter's Saints' Rest, and perhaps a book of sermons. For the children, there was always the task of committing to memory the shorter catechism, with "effectual calling" that was so hard, and the Commandments that were so easy. It was the father's duty to catechise, the mother's to prepare them for the ordeal. They were heard after the evening meal on Sunday nights, after which all the family joined in hymn singing.

Miller tells of James Rutherford, whose grain lay unharvested in the field on a sunny Sabbath day. When Rutherford's neighbors argued that it was the work of necessity for him to



PRESBYTERIAN SEMINARY AT TRURO—Shown above is the building which was once the Presbyterian Seminary at Truro—the forerunner of Pine Hill Divinity Hall. The Seminary was operated in Truro for five years until 1863 after which it was converted into a duplex dwelling house. It was situated on the property on Queen Street now owned by T. P. Bentley. Photo above was taken by the late Lewis Rice after the building was remodelled into a dwelling house. (Photo courtesy of J. E. Sponagle).

house the grain, he replied. "Cannot you trust Him who sends wet to wet it, to send the wind to dry it again?"

There was no other denomination of Christians in Truro, or its neighborhood, but Presbyterians from its first settlement until the year 1782. In August of that year, according to Miller, Henry Alline, who belonged to the Congregationalists, and who was a travelling evangelist, arrived in Truro with a companion, and "it was with the most difficulty that they obtained food or lodging. The people, having heard of him before, gazed on him as he passed their doors, as if he had been one of the Antediluvians; and when he came down to the Village of Truro he went to the only Inn that was kept in the Village." (The first Inn was a two-storey house operated soon after 1773 by Eliakim Tupper on the site of the present location of C. F. Cox Ltd. store on Prince Street.)

Miller goes on to say that "the Innkeeper refused him lodgings for any amount of money; and while he was strolling about the road he met Alexander Miller, who consented to lodge him, on condition that he would not speak to any of the family. He put him and the man with him in a room by themselves. They soon began to sing, and some of the family knocked at the door and asked if they might come in and hear them singing. He replied that they might, if they were not afraid of being caught with the spirit that went about with him. More freedom was then shown between Mr. Miller and him, and he was asked to pray in the family. The next day he was allowed to preach in Mr. Miller's barn. After this he continued to preach in the village. He was summoned to appear before the Session of the Truro congregation, to give an account of himself for coming into another man's congregation and preaching what they believed to be false doctrine; but they could not stop him. He continued his preaching in Truro three or four days, and then crossed over to Onslow, and labored there for some time, and went to Horton in September of the same year. In the year 1809, Henry Hail and Amos Alline visited Truro and commenced to preach, and again there was an attempt made to stop them. The Justices of the Peace threatened to have them arrested if they did not cease from preaching what they believed to be false doctrine; but they preached on, and they applied to the Government for permission to preach, and received a free license to preach to all who were willing to listen to them."

Israel Longworth tells us that in the year 1818 the Rev. John Burnyeat (after whom Burnyeat Street is named) was licensed to officiate in Nova Scotia and received the appointment of Rector of the Church of England at Truro. He preached in the old Court House which stood on the West side of Victoria Square and Court Street until 1821 when a wooden Church was built on the present site of St. John's Church. The Church was dedicated to St. John on February 27, 1835, and on petition of the Rev. Burnyeat and his parishioners, with the approval of Bishop Inglis, erected the district of Colchester into a parish by that name.

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